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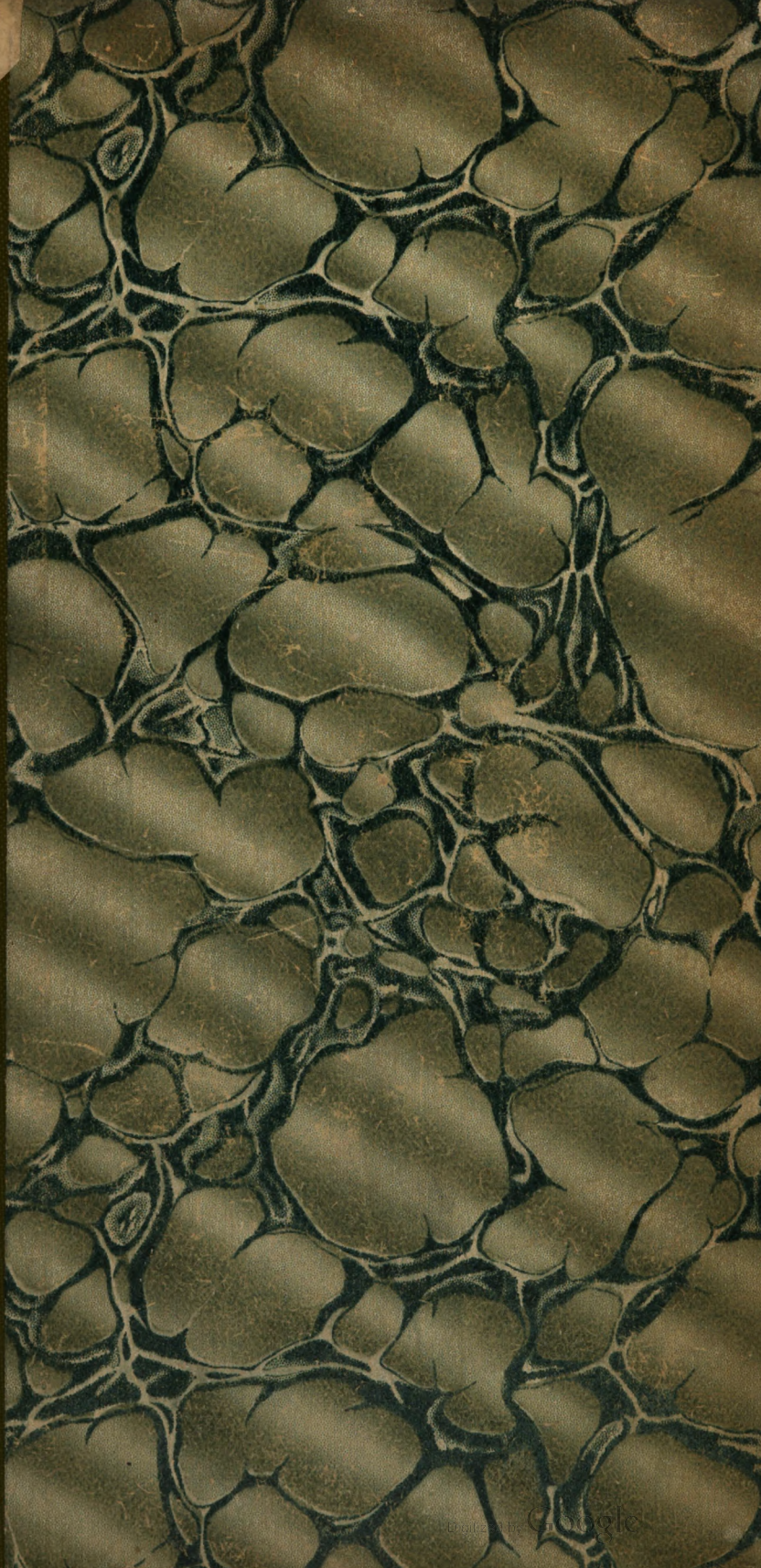
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Hearings Before Secretary of War at Manila
- 1905 -

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FROM

Col. Arthur Woods

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PARTY ACCOMPANYING
HIM TO THE PHILIP-
PINE ISLANDS HELD AT

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AUGUST 29-30, 1905

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Col. Arthur Woods

HEARINGS BEFORE THE SECRETARY OF WAR AND THE CONGRESSIONAL PARTY ACCOMPANYING HIM TO THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, HELD AT MANILA AUGUST 29 AND 30, 1905.

MANILA, P. I., *August 29, 1905.*

(The session was called to order at 9.15 a. m., Senator Scott, of West Virginia, presiding.)

The CHAIRMAN. This meeting has been called pursuant to an agreement reached during an executive session held with the members of the Commission prior to the departure of the party on the southern trip and in accordance with a motion made at that time. I think it might be well to have that motion read, and the secretary will please do so.

The motion referred to was then read, as follows :

Senator PATTERSON. I move that on our return, commencing on the 29th and holding over until the 30th and including the 30th, we sit to hear complaints, and that we give four hours to those who may have complaints to make, and that such additional time as may be necessary and as may be at our disposal be devoted to hearing answers to the complaints.

Representative COOPER. It is my distinct recollection that the resolution as finally adopted contained a provision requiring that all complaints relating to or affecting the personal integrity or the official conduct of any member of the Commission should be filed in writing within ten days, and an opportunity given for a written answer. I have not heard that provision as yet.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that comes further on in the record.

Representative COOPER. I suggest that the amendment be read and also that we ascertain whether any charges or statements have been filed.

Representative PAYNE. We understand from Secretary Ide that no charges have been filed.

Representative COOPER. I believe that the resolution as amended

should be read, because the gentleman behind me says that there was no such resolution adopted.

The CHAIRMAN. The secretary will read the amendment to the resolution as suggested.

(The secretary then read the following extract from the session of August 11, 1905:)

Representative PAYNE. I will modify my amendment to correspond with what I said—that any criticism in any way affecting the personal integrity or the official conduct of any official of the Government shall be submitted within ten days, in writing, to Commissioner Ide.

(The amendment, upon being put to a vote by the chairman, was adopted, and the original resolution as amended was then also adopted.)

The CHAIRMAN. Is there a list of the names of the gentlemen who will occupy these four hours?

Mr. FERGUSSON, the interpreter. I have a list of some, but not of all, of them. Mr. Barretto desires to speak, as does also Mr. Ilustre. I believe that one of the following gentlemen will desire to speak: Dr. Sixto Roxas, Señor José Villanueva, and Señor Norberto Dimayuga.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the committee as to the time to be given to each gentleman?

Representative GROSVENOR. Let them divide it to suit themselves.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be known to the gentlemen to be heard this morning that they will have four hours and that they can divide the time among themselves, but that they will be held strictly to the four hours.

Representative HEPBURN. Mr. Chairman, just a moment. That resolution contemplates that all these gentlemen who speak here shall be representative men and shall speak for those who have complaints. Now, I desire to know whether these men have been deputed by those who have complaints or whether they are simply self-elected and are speaking for themselves only.

Señor VILLANUEVA. I desire to say that I am not a representative of any part of the people; that I have simply come here as a private citizen. I make this statement in view of the fact that my name was one of those read by the interpreter.

The CHAIRMAN. What do the other gentlemen say? Does Mr. Barretto represent himself only?

Representative HEPBURN. Mr. Chairman, I desire to know if there is anyone here representing the people, or any part of the people, making complaints, or any organization of any kind.

SEÑOR BARRETTO. I desire to state first to the honorable members of the delegation that I had understood, from the notices published by the press with regard to this meeting, that the meeting was not to be held for the hearing of complaints, as we were aware of the fact that if we had any complaints to make we could file them here with the authorities in writing, and we do not desire to take up the time or attention of these gentlemen with complaints.

Representative JONES. Mr. Chairman, I suggest that these gentlemen be permitted to go on and state in their own way what they have to say, in the time which has been granted them, and that, when any one of them has completed his statement, if any member of the committee desires to know whether the sentiments he expressed were his own or whether he speaks for anybody else, he can be questioned upon the subject. I am willing to assume, however, that these gentlemen will inform the committee whether they speak for themselves or for any organization in the Islands.

Representative HEPBURN. It has been represented here that there is a large body of complainants—men opposed to the form of government established by the United States in these Islands—and that these gentlemen wanted to be heard; therefore the resolution provided that those who spoke should speak in a representative capacity for that class of people. Now, for myself, I do not care an iota for complaints of separate individuals scattered here and there over the Islands; I want to know if there is any great subject of complaint upon the part of the people against this form of government, and I want the time to be taken up by those gentlemen who voice such a sentiment, if there is anything of that kind. We have been told that there is; there has been much contention that such a sentiment exists, and that is what I want to hear. The mere expression of a dissent from a single individual, I presume no member of the committee cares very much about, but we do want to know if this Government does not meet the approval of this people, and we do want to know if there is some one present who is authorized to speak for the people who do not approve of it.

Representative JONES. Just a moment, Mr. Chairman; I think there is some misapprehension in regard to this meeting. No matter what my friend Colonel Hepburn may desire to hear, or what I may desire to hear, at the time the resolution was adopted nothing was said about their appearing in a representative way. They were to be given an opportunity on the 29th to be heard in

regard to the policy of this Government, and they were to be allowed to present statements to Commissioner Ide at any time within ten days. Now, those criticisms must be in writing. But Mr. Payne expressly stated that his desire was that these gentlemen should appear and state their ideas as to the fallacy of this Government; nothing was said as to whether the speakers should be of a representative character or not.

Representative PAYNE. All that I said was if there were any charges against the personnel of the Government they should be submitted in writing. Perhaps we can get this difficulty settled in this way: If any gentleman here does represent anybody, let him be heard first.

Representative JONES. It was the understanding that they should select not to exceed six to make this statement, and I submit that it is not just to them to have them make a statement in advance as to whether they represent some one else or not. The time has been given them and I think they should be allowed to use it in their own way.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let us hear whether they have selected these men or not. If they have, we will hear anyone who is ready.

Señor ALBERTO BARRETTO. I myself have come here authorized to speak for a group of people. We are able to give the names of these people if it is required.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well; let us hear him.

Señor BARRETTO. Mr. Ilustre will speak first.

The CHAIRMAN. Very well.

Señor VICENTE ILUSTRE. I would like to ask if it is the pleasure of this delegation to listen to the political aspirations of the people whom I represent?

The CHAIRMAN. Tell him to go on and get at the gist of it as rapidly as possible.

Mr. ILUSTRE. I begin by expressing my thanks to you for the kindness you have done in giving me an opportunity to be heard, we being convinced that the distinguished party that has come to our Islands has come here not for the purpose of making a pleasure trip to the Islands but rather for the purpose of hearing the aspirations of the Filipino people and to learn the social, economic, and political conditions that prevail here. Mr. Barretto and myself will touch upon these points and I shall limit my remarks to making an explanation of the aspirations of the group

of persons whom I represent—a group which believes that it represents the aspirations of the entire Filipino people. This aspiration of the people is that they be given their immediate independence—its acknowledgment by Congress and its declaration by that body. This aspiration has been presented, though in a more modified form, to the members of the Congressional delegation during this trip through the southern islands. This aspiration has been presented in a form more modified through motives of courtesy, and perhaps through motives of fear, though it has always been understood in the form in which I represent it. We do not hesitate for one moment to present the aspiration; we have no hesitation whatever, because we consider it as the frank and true aspiration of the people. It has not been sufficient to contain the overflow of this feeling that the present administration should state that it was a useless thing to talk upon this matter, because the people were not at present in a condition to enjoy independence, and that to speak for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands was equivalent to agitating that feeling which is natural and legitimate in all peoples and which was introduced among our people by Magellan's interference in the affairs of the Island of Mactan, and which was further developed by the invasion of Li-ma-hong and by the entrance of the British into Manila, and which was further enjoyed by Lopez Peding in Ilocos, by Novales in Manila, by Apolinario in Tayabas, and by others in other parts of the Islands. This spirit which was vigorous in 1890 was triumphant in 1898, but was afterwards suppressed by the immense power of the American people. This has lately, however, been resuscitated as a new and immortal phenix, because it has noted among the distinguished members of the Congressional party, among the distinguished sons of Washington, and among the neighbors of Bolivar and San Martin, the representatives of a people who gave independence to Cuba and proclaimed the independence of Liberia and Panama. The Filipino people hope and expect from the justice of the American people, and from the love they have shown upon these occasions for the independence of other peoples, that they will take a like course with regard to the Philippine Islands. We understand, however, that without resources it is impossible to maintain an independent government, and for that reason we agree with those who say it is

necessary to develop agriculture, commerce, and industry in these Islands.

We do not understand, nor does the country understand, that in speaking of independence the masses of the people are agitated. In the first place, considering the present condition of the country, which is without arms and without resources, everyone realizes that to go to war would be equivalent to suicide. On the other hand, the desire for independence being a universal desire, in speaking of independence we believe that, rather than agitating the desire, it calms it; and only in case the United States should have the intention of retaining the Philippine Islands permanently can we understand that contention, because then independence would ring at war's alarm as it did from the clarion of the soldiers of Washington. But the representative and prominent men of the United States have told us that that is not the desire of their country, and for that reason we have not interfered. On the contrary, we believe that to prevent us from speaking of independence is simply shutting down the safety valve, and in shutting down the safety valve it is possible that the boiler may burst. It has been said that the country is not in a condition to be independent; the principal reasons given for this are lack of unity of languages, lack of resources, lack of sufficient education, and that the ignorant people would be exploited by the educated ones, that the Filipinos have not the necessary materials with which to defend themselves against the aggression of foreign countries, and probably owing to this reason it would be divided among various powers. Now, as regards the unity of language we believe that this is but a trifling matter. In Spain nearly all of the provinces have different dialects, which are very distinct from one another, so that the people of one locality do not understand those of another, while in Switzerland the German cantons speak the German language, the French cantons speak the French language, and the Italian cantons speak the Italian language. In England Scotch is not English, nor is English Irish, and the popular masses do not understand one another. [Laughter.] However, all these nations are independent, and England is a great nation.

Now, as regards the lack of resources, in order not to cite too many examples, for the sake of brevity I will merely name the case of the United States. This great nation, which is now composed of forty-seven States and some Territories, whose great wealth is

reflected in its annual importations amounting to \$731,969,965 and its exports amounting to \$793,392,599, whose income is \$313,390,075 per annum, whose shipping tonnage is over 4,000,000, which has 178,000 miles of railroads and 70,000 post-offices, with its Capitol building, its White House, its numerous libraries, etc.—this great nation, at the time its independence was granted, amounted to but thirteen States, with 2,000,000 inhabitants, an export trade that scarcely reached \$5,000,000 and an import trade of less than \$8,000,000 and a shipping tonnage of 320,000.

Now, on the other hand, the Philippine Islands at the present time have 8,000,000 people; its exports amount to \$32,000,000, and its imports are above that. The merchant marine reaches a total of 1,228,000 tons, this representing the tonnage arriving at the ports of the Philippine Islands, while the tonnage leaving the said ports is 1,142,000.

The Republic of Panama, whose independence has been given by the United States, imports only \$460,000 worth of merchandise, while its exports only amount to \$768,000. It is unnecessary for me to speak of Peru and Greece, whose export and import trade is still less than that of the Philippine Islands.

It has also been stated that there is not sufficient education here. Mr. Barretto will have an opportunity of showing the number of school children attending school in 1896. Moreover, according to the histories that I have had the pleasure of reading with regard to the United States, when that nation declared its independence the southern part contained a great many illiterate people. Again comparing the Philippines with other powers—such, for example, as Bulgaria—there are here in these Islands more literate people than there are in that country, according to the authority of Professor Blumentritt.

Another reason given for withholding independence is that the ignorant masses of the people will be exploited by the educated classes. In the first place, we must make the statement that prior to the coming of Spain to these Islands sovereignty was unknown among its inhabitants except in a few restricted regions. Now we wish to state that as a general rule the difference between the educated and uneducated masses in this country is not very great; furthermore, if there is “bossism” or what we call “caciquism” here, the same thing is found in other parts of the world, and I believe

that the reason for the existence of "caciquism" in these Islands is that a third party lends to it its protection.

Another reason given for withholding independence is that the Filipinos have not resources with which to defend themselves in case of an attack by foreign powers. That is very true, but it is very easily remedied. There are two means, in our opinion, of saving this situation—either an American protectorate or the declaration of perpetual neutrality.

The protectorate perhaps would not be well or favorably received by either one country or the other. If no benefits were to be derived by the United States, such a thing would not be desirable upon its part; on the other hand, if the United States demanded in return for its protection a large measure of guaranty of its interests in exchange for such a protectorate, such a protectorate would not be desirable to the Filipino people. Therefore we are of the opinion that it is better to make a declaration of perpetual neutrality with regard to these Islands. Belgium, Switzerland, and the Duchy of Luxemburg were the theaters of continual warfare prior to the time of the declaration of perpetual neutrality with regard to those States. The neutrality of Switzerland was declared by the convention held in Vienna by the various powers on November 20, 1850, while that of Belgium was the result of the treaty signed in London November 15, 1831, and the neutrality of the Duchy of Luxemburg was fixed by the treaty signed in London May 11, 1867.

Now, to sum up all I have said and in conclusion, we state that the aspiration of the Filipino people—though it has not been expressed by everyone, it has been felt by everyone in the depth of their souls—is the immediate independence of the Islands. There is sufficient capacity upon the part of the inhabitants of the Islands to enjoy that independence and we ask the Congress of the United States to declare the Islands to be independent, with perpetual neutrality.

Now, with our earnest desire that all the honorable members of this delegation may have a prosperous voyage, we would petition them to carry the echo of our aspiration to the United States and that they transmit and interpret our desires to the body to which they belong. We in the Philippine Islands will remain behind waiting for the complete fulfillment of our desires.

(While Señor Ilustre was speaking the following memorial was distributed among the members of the delegation, the same being printed in Spanish with the English translation attached:)

MANILA, P. I., August 28, 1905.

To the honorable the Secretary of War of the United States and the honorable members of Congress of his illustrious party, greetings:

The inhabitants of this Archipelago who yesterday, in divers forms of joyful demonstration, addressed affectionate and courteous greetings of welcome to you, will soon say farewell, trusting earnestly that the visit with which you are still honoring them shall be fruitful in benefits to this land and result in added luster to your country's glory. Before leaving these shores, the subscribers of this document, believing that they interpret popular opinion—for they reflect the real and unanimous sentiments of the entire country—take the liberty, in the name of the people, to address the Congress of the United States, through the duly authorized channel of your good offices, for the purpose of laying before it one single petition, and only one, that is the result of a study of the following considerations:

Neither the periods of great prosperity and abundance nor times of scarcity through which the country has passed have been able to destroy its persistent, vehement desire to some day be the arbiter of its own destinies.

Historical data affirm that the Filipino people, prior to Spanish dominion, had a civilization and culture of their own, derived from the purity of customs, moral practices, and conditions of its native inhabitants. It is evident that at that time an orderly government existed in the Philippines; property rights were not violated nor personal prerogatives profaned. In this land neither slavery, in the sociological sense of the word, nor cannibalism, drunkenness, socialism, anarchism, nihilism, nor communism were known, while not even a notion of atrocious and blood-curdling crimes existed.

With the aid of such happy conditions, the Filipino people have been assimilating Western civilization slowly and gradually, without constraint or violence, and so perfect has this assimilation—the work of over three centuries—been, that this is the country of the Far East beyond which the influence of the Occident is not felt. Though its present culture is Western, the soul of the people—their characteristic note—manifests itself in every phase of their existence; it has not been lost nor will it ever be lost.

In spite of the unquestionable political capacity of the Filipino people, the result of their present degree of culture and civilization, that they are in condition for self-government is denied in varying degrees and forms, though precisely the contrary is demonstrated by *facts, experience, and considerations*, among which the following deserve mention:

(a) It is an irrefutable fact that the Filipino people are governable. The period of Spanish domination and the present American sovereignty bear out this assertion. The political condition of a country principally

depends upon the degree of governableness of its people. The more governable the popular masses are the better the political condition of the country. When a people such as the Filipinos give signal evidence of their capacity to obey during a period of over three hundred years, free from disturbances or deep political commotions, it must be granted, considering that all things tend to progress, that they possess the art of government, all the more so because, among other powers, they possess that of assimilation in a marked degree—an assimilativeness which distinguishes them from other peoples of the Far East.

(b) If the masses of the people are governable, a part must necessarily be denominated the *directing class*, for as in the march of progress, moral or material, nations do not advance at the same rate, some going forward whilst others fall behind, so it is with the inhabitants of a country, as observation will prove.

(c) If the Philippine Archipelago has a governable popular mass called upon to obey and a *directing class* charged with the duty of governing, it is in condition to govern itself. These factors, not counting incidental ones, are the only two by which to determine the political capacity of a country; an entity that knows how to govern, the *directing class*, and an entity that knows how to obey, the *popular masses*.

The degree of culture of the directing class and of the popular masses of the Filipino people is comparable, strictly and relatively, between the two—between one class and the other.

It is impossible to compare the lack of culture of the popular masses of the Filipino people with that of the American popular masses, as, for example, to say that the former is less cultured; the comparison should be made between the popular masses and the directing class here. Nor is it proper to compare the culture of the Filipino directing class with the same class in America, as, of course, the culture of the latter is greater; the comparison should be made with the popular masses of this country, and this same rule should apply to the number of one class in relation to the number of the other; this theory should not be lost sight of, taking into account that the general scale of self-government, either of the Saxon or Latin kind, has its degrees of perfection—maximum, medium, and minimum.

(d) On account of the ratio between the present degree of culture of the directing class of the Filipino people and the degree of culture of the popular masses, it can be predicted, without any fear of mistake, that if the country should have ruled its own destinies, far from being tyrannical—according to the scruples of some people—the government established would have been a model of justice, for neither the culture of the directing class is great enough to impose obedience in a tyrannical sense nor is the culture of the popular masses so wanting as to allow themselves to be tyrannized. It is only where there is a positive want of equilibrium between the culture of one class and the ignorance of another that a government is able to tyrannize a people, which condition does not exist in the Philippines, where the culture of one and the ignorance of the other is merely relative.

(e) The conditions of the Filipino people that make them politically capable, derived from their having lived side by side with a race from which they inherited wise principles of government (that, though of Latin origin, are none the less recognized by the concert of civilized nations), date far back from the American domination—a political capacity of which the Filipinos gave brilliant proofs during the ephemeral life of the erstwhile Filipino republic, in whose territory, in spite of the fact that everything was all agog upon the hot embers left by the revolution against its former sovereign, complete tranquillity reigned, and where orders emanating from high spheres were executed without demur by the lower spheres. It is true that there was not at that time complete economic welfare because of the abnormal state of things, but there is not now.

As data proving the culture of the Filipino people before the starry flag first flew in their dominions, the statistics of their intellectual activity might be cited. During the academic term in the University of Santo Tomás, Manila, for the year 1896-97, the number of students enrolled was 15 in theology, 7 in canonical law, 1,298 in civil law, 357 in medicine, 169 in pharmacy, 244 in notarial law, 160 in philosophy and letters, and 54 in sciences.

(f) Had the Filipinos not been already in condition for self-government they would not have been able to coöperate with America with the efficiency that they have been displaying up to the present time in the establishment in these Islands of a government completely new. Insurmountable difficulties would have been encountered and great reversals of order would have been produced in all branches of the administration, all the more so owing to the fact that the introduction of the present government was rapid, almost instantaneous, surprising the natives who, without being previously prepared, did nevertheless quickly assimilate new theories and doctrines in the matter of government and administration. This assertion is not refuted by the six years that the country has been under the present régime. The small number of Filipinos participating in the government, upon whose shoulders a great part of the responsibility rests, have not given any sign of incompetency, but, rather, their administration has been fruitful of happy results, more especially in municipal government, placed entirely in the hands of the native element.

(g) The American people, on taking upon themselves the tutelage of this Archipelago by virtue of the protocol signed in Paris, took upon themselves the obligation of aiding the Filipino people in the establishment of a stable government in these Islands. They can not exempt themselves from this responsibility if, by putting aside the wise recommendations of McKinley that our usages, customs, and laws be respected, they establish in these Islands a government of a character not adaptable to our nature; it being, therefore, understood that the government which ought to be established should be of a character preëminently Filipino.

(h) "Caciquism," the pretext for denying the political capacity of the Filipinos, can never exist in this country where slavery, of which "caciquism" is the most insignificant representation, has never existed, because of the special customs of its inhabitants, aside from the fact that there is no record of a people dominating others of their own race. If it is

presumed, forsooth, that it can not but exist later, precisely at the time when the country shall be independent, that proves that it is known in other free states. Hence it is not humanitarian to attribute to the Filipinos, solely because of the systematic persistence in denying their political capacity, a defect which is peculiar to humanity in general.

(i) Unity of language is a condition, we admit, but not an indispensable one, for the enjoyment of self-government.

Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Russia, and other States do not have it, and yet rule their own destinies. The plurality of dialects spoken in the Philippines is no obstacle in the way of the unembarrassed operation of the government. That a plurality of dialects existed when Spain governed the country and that in the centuries of its domination this fact did not impede its governmental work, inasmuch as Spain made use of the two common languages in this Archipelago, Spanish and Tagalog, is beyond doubt. America at the present time governs the country using indiscriminately one or the other of these languages. The plurality of dialects has not disappeared, but, on the contrary, has been increased by the addition of the English language, that is also spoken to-day, yet this has not made it impossible for America to undertake its mission.

(j) The wealth that determines—and that is one of the principal factors—the political possibilities of a country is judged by the importance of the products exported from that country. Exports from the Philippines—we will not say at present, when they are greater, but during former years—were, if not equal, but little less than those from many States of the Orient and much greater than those from North America itself when it declared its independence.

(k) The fact that the Philippines lack the immortal figure of Washington and the grand one of Jefferson does not disqualify it for self-government. Nations to-day independent, many of them prodigies of civilization, were organized in political liberty without having counted from among the number of their inhabitants personages of their mold. Cuba and Panama, but yesterday declared Republics by North America itself, can not cherish the memory of men as great as these.

(l) It would be improper and out of place closely to examine into the conditions of these people for a free and independent government by making a comparison between them and other nations of the Far East like Japan, for example, inasmuch as, if there is any superiority of the latter and inferiority of the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands, it is precisely due to the fact that the former are independent, and as an independent people develop and progress with entire freedom and without restriction, whilst the Philippine Islands, whose inhabitants are intellectually superior to those of many free States, in the judgment of indisputable authorities, being controlled in all their actions and institutions, have but a sort of a dependent existence.

The foregoing premises having been enunciated, it must be admitted that the Filipinos are capable of establishing an independent government. And from among the variety of forms of this class of government they choose immediate independence under "the declaration of perpetual neutrality" rather than under a protectorate.

They do this because the former is the more honorable and would be the more economic for America and the surest to safeguard the integrity and stability of the Filipino state-to-be, whilst independence under a protectorate would be costly for the nation exercising the protectorate and for that under it, and a source of conflicts to the former.

In view of all the foregoing, and placing our trust in the justice of the American people, we petition the Congress of the United States of North America, in the name of the Filipino people, for the *immediate independence of the Philippine Islands under a declaration of perpetual neutrality*.

Dr. Simeón A. Villa; Baldomero Aguinaldo, farmer; Dr. Justo Lukban; José Ma. de la Viña, physician; M. Cuyugan, property owner; G. Apacible, physician; Vicente Ilustre, lawyer and property owner; Miguel Zaragoza, professor of painting; Alberto Barretto, lawyer; Pablo Ocampo, manufacturer; Antonio E. Escamilla, professor of languages; Enrique Mendiola, licentiate in jurisprudence and property owner; Andres E. Rivero, journalist; Francisco Laksamana, journalist; Felix Ferrer y Pascual, lawyer; Donato Teodoro, property owner; M. P. Leuterio, teacher; Macario Adriatico, lawyer; Cirilo B. Santos, property owner; Francisco Dominguez, lawyer and property owner; Tomás B. Umali, lawyer, manager of the Philippine Athenæum; Roman Ongpin, merchant; Pascual Ledesma, sailor and property owner; Dr. Dominador Gomez, licentiate in medicine; Manuel Ramirez, director of the weekly *La Justicia*; Marcelino Gomez, lithographer and property owner; Higinio M. Angeles, property owner; Teodoro Sandiko, property owner; Vicente Lukban, manufacturer; Antonio Guevara, planter; Gregorio Flores, pharmacist.

Senator WARREN. In view of the repeated statements of the gentleman who has just addressed us as to a declaration of perpetual neutrality, I would like to have him state just what he means by that. I would like to know how the foreign relations of the Philippines would differ from those of other foreign nations, and to have him explain just what he means by that phrase.

Señor ILUSTRE. What I mean by the phrase is that the United States shall approach the great powers—England, Germany, Japan, and France, which are the powers that have or may have the largest interests in these Islands—and by means of a treaty signed by all these powers and the United States assure the future neutrality of the Philippine Islands, or rather the neutrality of those nations with regard to the Philippine Islands.

Senator WARREN. Now, as I understand it, the desire is that the Filipinos shall procure a standing with the leading nations and the United States through the efforts of the United States.

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Senator WARREN. Now, the United States having demanded, we will say, and procured this declaration of neutrality, suppose it is encroached upon by some foreign nation—what would be the attitude of the United States in such a case?

Señor ILUSTRE. I think in that case the attitude of the United States would be the same as that of the chancellor of Austria at the time that Bismarck desired to seize the Grand Duchy of Luxemburg, alleging that the neutrality of that grand duchy no longer existed. At that time it was set forth by Austria through its chancellor that the faculty rested only with the signatory powers to declare the neutrality at an end.

Senator WARREN. If I understand correctly, then, they expect the United States first to procure this declaration or the signing of this treaty, and, second, that it would carry the responsibility of enforcing the closest observance of that declaration of neutrality. Now, I would like to ask if he considers the independence of the Filipinos, along that line, to be independence in the same sense that the United States secured their independence from the British Government, which was an independence entirely separate, and one which relied upon no other nation for its maintenance?

Señor ILUSTRE. I shall answer that question in three periods, as I believe it involves three points. In the first place, I have said that it is the desire of the inhabitants of these Islands that the powers declare neutrality for the Philippine Islands. Now, I have stated that it was the desire of the Filipinos to have immediate independence, but I have simply spoken of the declaration of perpetual neutrality as a safeguard of that independence.

In the second place, after the treaty had been signed by the United States and the other great powers the responsibility of the preservation of that neutrality would not fall upon the United States alone but upon all the signatory powers.

As regards the third point, I admit that an independence secured by the Filipino people in this way would not be the same as that acquired by the United States. However, in view of the total absence of resources upon the part of the Philippine Islands, its lack of an army, and its lack of a navy, we look upon this move as the only move for securing our independence.

Senator WARREN. Just one more question. As I understand it, there is a proposition as an alternative; it was either immediate

independence or this declaration of perpetual neutrality. In the first place, if you were given immediate independence, do you feel that you could preserve that independence as against the secession of the different islands and the cutting off of different localities which refuse to recognize the central authority; and, second, could you maintain that independence as against foreign foes? Do you think you could maintain a condition of independence for any considerable time?

Señor ILUSTRE. I have not made two propositions; I have made only one, which was immediate independence for the Philippine Islands, and that in order to guarantee the permanency of that independence a declaration be secured from the great powers for the perpetual neutrality of the Islands.

Senator WARREN. I would like to ask what liberties the Filipino people would enjoy under the independence which you ask for which they do not enjoy at the present time under the constituted government?

Señor ILUSTRE. They would enjoy all those liberties which are peculiar to the citizens of a country which is not dependent upon another country, and especially all those liberties that are now uncertain on account of the uncertain political status of the Filipinos.

Representative GROSVENOR. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask the gentleman this question: Suppose the United States were to withdraw its military forces, withdraw its Governor-General and all its naval forces at this moment, does this gentleman believe that all the provinces composing the Philippine Archipelago would at once coöperate in the formation of an independent government such as he has outlined?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir; we had a very palpable example of what the people of these Islands would do under those conditions in 1898, when all the people of the Islands moved as one man and formed the government of Malolos.

Representative GROSVENOR. That is a disputed fact, and history does not justify such a statement. Now, suppose one or more provinces should refuse to coöperate, they would have the same right of aspiration for independence of which the gentleman speaks, would they not?

Señor ILUSTRE. The Filipino people are made up of all the inhabitants of the Islands. The Filipino people in asking for inde-

pendence to-day ask for independence for all the islands and for all the people.

Representative GROSVENOR. Suppose certain islands refused to join. Let us take, for example, the Island of Joló: Suppose that island refused to come into the new government. What power would there be and where would it be lodged which would compel them to come into the new government and submit to it?

Señor ILUSTRE. In the first place, that can only be considered as a supposition. While we were members of the Hongkong junta, during the time of the insurrection, I can state that we received letters of adhesion to our government from the Moros; I do not mean to say the Sultan, but from the Moros in the southern part of the Islands.

Representative GROSVENOR. That was a single case. Now, didn't the people of Jolo send a delegation once toward this city, charged with a duty very widely different from that?

Señor ILUSTRE. That may be.

Representative GROSVENOR. What does the speaker say to this? In at least three provinces which the delegation visited within the past week it was publicly stated that there was no sentiment for independence in those provinces, and speakers have gone so far as to state that independence would be a curse to the Filipino people. Now, what assurance has the speaker that these people would follow the Hongkong junta in this matter?

Señor ILUSTRE. I believe they would do so for the reason that those provincial governors were merely people who were expressing their private opinion, and moreover they are employees of the Government and they were speaking to the Government.

Representative GROSVENOR. Then it is a question of opinion between the "ins" and "outs"?

Señor ILUSTRE. No, sir; we protest against that; we do not think that way.

Representative COOPER. I understood the gentleman to say that during the insurrection he was a member of the Hongkong junta?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative COOPER. Is that junta still in existence?

Señor ILUSTRE. No, sir.

Representative COOPER. When did you come from Hongkong?

Señor ILUSTRE. Over a year and a half ago.

Representative COOPER. Is that the last time you came from Hongkong?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir; I have not returned there since.

Representative COOPER. It is stated that all the provinces would unite cordially with the central Filipino government and that they did it in 1898. Is it not true that there were insurrections against the Malolos government in November and December, 1898, in three or four of the provinces?

Señor ILUSTRE. I do not know of any nor do I think that it could be probable that any did so.

Representative COOPER. You have said that the Moros promised to support the Filipinos. Did not the Moros in 1899 kill the Filipino officials and officers and cut off their heads?

Señor ILUSTRE. It may be true that they did, just exactly as the French people cut off the heads of their officials during a certain period of their history.

Representative COOPER. But does this fact show that they are very friendly to the Filipino people or Filipino government? That is what I desire to get at.

Señor ILUSTRE. It may be that these officials were bad men and that this was the reason for their being killed.

Representative COOPER. Does he know that the Moros promised the Americans to bring in the heads of any Filipino officials that they found down there?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir; I believe I have read that.

Representative COOPER. Well, then, if they cut off the heads of all the Filipino officials they could find, and promised to continue doing so, where is the evidence of their friendship for the Filipinos?

Señor ILUSTRE. I was simply speaking of the Moro people who had sent expressions of their adhesion to the Hongkong junta. Now in the case of the Americans we have a third party in discord. If that third party were removed, the relations between the other parties might be better.

Representative COOPER. Now, we were told while on a visit to Zamboanga and other parts of Mindanao that the Moro Constabulary and the Moros generally would not permit the appointment of Filipino officials or Filipino officers, and that the American Government would not dare to appoint Filipino officers to go in there through fear of assassination; that was not more than ten days or a week ago.

Señor ILUSTRE. These are all special cases; they can not be cited in proof of a general rule.

Moreover, after we get our independence, when these problems confront us, if our authority is not recognized by the people in the Moro country, then we will seek measures to see that it is enforced by our army and navy.

Representative COOPER. Well, that disposes of the adhesion matter. Now, how many men were there in the Hongkong junta?

Señor ILUSTRE. At the beginning there were quite a number of us, but ultimately we were reduced to four or five. I do not recall the number who composed the Hongkong junta at the beginning for the reason that I did not become a member of it until later.

Representative COOPER. I want to ask one more question—it relates to your statement as to the American Revolution and the formation of a government by the American Colonies: Do you think there is any parallel between the condition of the American Colonies at the close of the American Revolution and the condition of the people of the Philippine Islands?

Señor ILUSTRE. Well, that is rather a delicate question.

Representative COOPER. Then let me ask you this question: Are you aware of the fact that the American Colonies had been practically self-governing for generations, for at least two centuries before the time of the American Revolution, each one of the colonies independent of the other?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes; I know that some of the colonies were, because I have read the history of the United States.

Representative COOPER. And that they were accustomed to debating in legislative assemblies and accustomed to passing laws and to administering them?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative COOPER. Do you know of any province in the Philippine Islands that has ever elected representatives to any popular assembly of any kind or has been permitted to make laws during the past two hundred years?

Señor ILUSTRE. In the time of the Filipino government, I believe so; yes, sir.

Representative COOPER. Well, I mean aside from that.

Señor ILUSTRE. No, sir; I don't know as there has been at any other time; however, we used to send representatives to Spain, but I don't know whether they were elected or not.

Representative COOPER. The speaker has said that the Malolos government was a representative government; is it not a fact that Aguinaldo picked the representatives, they being appointed at his instance?

Señor ILUSTRE. In some cases he did appoint the members of that congress, just as in the same manner Spain appoints some of its members to the Spanish Cortes.

Representative COOPER. Yes; but Spain is a monarchy.

Señor ILUSTRE. Some of the provinces here in the Islands elected their own representatives to this congress, and it was only for the purpose of having those provinces represented that did not elect representatives that members were appointed. These latter did not elect representatives on account of the state of disorder that prevailed. Furthermore, during the time of the Spanish Government in these Islands, under the Maura law, popular representatives in the council of administration were elected by the people.

Representative COOPER. That was in the central government of the Islands?

Señor ILUSTRE. They used to call it the council of administration in Manila.

Representative COOPER. Have the people of Samar ever had a representative government?

Señor ILUSTRE. I can not answer that question because I was not in the Islands at the time; I don't know whether Samar elected a representative or not.

Representative COOPER. Is it not a fact that Occidental and Oriental Negros both refused allegiance to the Filipino government?

Señor ILUSTRE. I have already stated that if there were any who did not lend adhesion to the Filipino government it was on account of the interference of a third party.

Representative HEPBURN. Mr. Chairman——

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hepburn.

Representative HEPBURN. I would like to ask this gentleman this question: Suppose that independence should be granted, so far as the United States can grant independence to these Islands, what form of government would the gentleman substitute for that which is here now?

Señor ILUSTRE. When the Filipino republic was proclaimed at Malolos the form of government established was a central republican form of government; however, it is my private opinion that it

would not be objectionable to introduce instead of that form of government, under the circumstances which you cite, a federal form of government, which would be divided into three regions or sections, namely, Luzon, the Visayan Islands, and Mindanao.

Representative HEPBURN. Would this government be republican in form?

Senator ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative HEPBURN. Where would you lodge the supreme power?

Señor ILUSTRE. Do you mean in a federal form of government?

Representative HEPBURN. I asked where the ultimate power would be in the government which he would establish.

Señor ILUSTRE. I have said that two forms of government might be established, either federal or republican in form; however, the question which you suggest is one that the people themselves would determine afterwards.

Representative HEPBURN. But I am asking for his opinion. I take it that he is a representative man and I want his opinion.

Señor ILUSTRE. I would lodge the supreme power where the will of the people put it. [Laughter.]

The INTERPRETER. I can not get him to answer the question more directly.

Representative HEPBURN. That being true, I presume he intends to say that the power would be in the people. Now, how would he ascertain the desires of the people in that regard?

Señor ILUSTRE. I would call a general plebiscite.

Representative HEPBURN. How far would you extend this suffrage? What class of people would take part in the suffrage?

Señor ILUSTRE. At that moment I would not have any objection to establishing universal suffrage.

Representative HEPBURN. Does that include women as well as men?

Señor ILUSTRE. If the women demonstrated sufficient intelligence to understand the reason for this plebiscite, I would have no objection to extending suffrage to them.

Representative HEPBURN. When would you determine the question of their ability and how?

Señor ILUSTRE. Of course it would be difficult to arrive at any knowledge upon this subject without putting it to a test, but in any event the Filipino women would hardly expect to have suffrage

extended to them, as it is not the ambition of our women to hold office.

Representative HEPBURN. What would be the proportion of Filipino men that he would invest with free and equal suffrage?

Señor ILUSTRE. For the purpose of that plebiscite I have already stated that I would consider every man as eligible to take part in it.

Representative HEPBURN. What does he mean by plebiscite as distinguished from universal suffrage in a republican form of government?

Señor ILUSTRE. There is a great deal of similarity between the two, but I understand that a plebiscite is something in which all elements are admitted without any distinction whatever, while as to universal suffrage, I understand that this means the qualified electors of a country.

Representative HEPBURN. Would you have a representative government to draft all laws, or would you have certain particular matters submitted to a plebiscite?

Señor ILUSTRE. No, sir; I would give the legislative power to a representative body for the enactment of all laws.

Representative HEPBURN. Now, who would elect that representative body?

Señor ILUSTRE. There are various systems that might be followed in selecting qualified electors of the country. There might be taken as a basis the ability to read and write, or the knowledge of some dialect other than the native dialect of the individual.

Representative HEPBURN. This is a matter that the speaker must have thought a good deal about, this matter of lodging the supreme power in the hands of some one. Now will the speaker define the qualifications of the leader to whom this supreme power will be given? Will you define the qualifications of an elector, as you contemplate them?

Señor ILUSTRE. In regard to that matter we would simply follow out the rule of studying the systems that are in use by some civilized nations where suffrage is exercised by the people and would choose from among them that system that would be most suitable for the people of these Islands.

Representative HEPBURN. Then at this time you have no definite idea as to what should be the qualifications of an elector?

Señor ILUSTRE. Well, I have not gotten it into such a concrete form in my mind that I can express it immediately, but I might

say that one of the conditions that should be required of the elector would be that he should be able to read and write, and should be a resident of the locality where he votes, or that he should be a most representative man and should have a certain amount of property. There might be several other conditions, but I do not think that I am the proper person to fix those conditions; we would have a plebiscite to determine these things.

Representative HEPBURN. But I am trying to get your ideas; you claim to be a representative man; I want to know what you think should be done.

Señor ILUSTRE. I have already stated some of the conditions which may be taken as a basis for qualified electors.

Representative HEPBURN. If you had your way, would you admit the Moros, for example, to full and complete suffrage?

Señor ILUSTRE. I would have no objection to extending suffrage to the Moros for the election of their representatives to the government.

Representative HEPBURN. With the same limitations as imposed upon the other parts of the Islands?

Señor ILUSTRE. I believe there would be no objection to their being given that privilege.

Representative HEPBURN. Now, I understand him to say if he had his method adopted of establishing a government, suffrage should be based, first, upon intelligence and the ability to read and write.

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative HEPBURN. Then next would be a property qualification—a certain amount of wealth?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative HEPBURN. What would be the minimum wealth that, in your judgment, ought to entitle a man to participate in the government?

Señor ILUSTRE. I agree to the limitation that was placed either by the Spanish law or the present Municipal Code—I do not know which—which required the owning of property to the amount of ₱500.

Representative HEPBURN. With these two limitations what percentage of men 21 years of age, resident in these Islands, would be permitted to vote?

Señor ILUSTRE. I must confess the truth and admit that I have not studied the matter. I do not know what the proportion would be.

Representative WILEY. Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask a question or two.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Wiley, of Alabama.

Representative WILEY. Suppose the Government of the United States were to say to the people of these Islands that, inasmuch as you resent our interference, we will withdraw from the Islands and let you have immediate independence and assume no further obligation for your protection in the future. Would you be willing to accept immediate independence and attempt to exercise government over these Islands?

Señor ILUSTRE. The American Government has already declared to the world its intention upon assuming charge of these people, stating that it was its purpose not to leave them to themselves until they were in a condition to look after themselves; for that reason I propose, or rather the people that I represent propose, that the United States secure the declaration of neutrality for the Islands.

Representative WILEY. That does not answer the question. The question is, If the Government of the United States were to withdraw its protection now and in the future and were to say to the Filipinos that they could have their independence, and that it gave to the Filipinos the burden of maintaining law and order in these Islands and carrying on a government, would you be willing to accept independence under those conditions and accept it now?

Señor ILUSTRE. I can not answer that on behalf of the entire Filipino people, but for my part, yes; I would accept it.

Representative WILEY. Then how long would the Filipino people maintain law and order in these Islands, and what assurance have you that the nations of the world would not exploit these Islands, and what assurance have you that there would not soon be separate and distinct governments on every island?

Señor ILUSTRE. But a government once constituted quickly acquires power and as regards the aggression of foreign nations the Filipino nation once established would, by means of treaties with the great powers of the world, get them to agree to their neutrality with regard to the Islands.

Representative WILEY. Just one more question: Do you know it to be a fact that recently the Island of Mindanao has been clamoring for separation from the Philippine Islands and asking to be established as a territory of the United States, as New Mexico and Arizona and other Territories of the United States?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative LONGWORTH. I would like to ask the gentleman whether, in his opinion, the desire for immediate independence proceeds from a feeling that the Filipino people are now being treated with injustice and oppression or whether it proceeds from a feeling that many men have that they would like to look after their own affairs?

Señor ILUSTRE. I will be frank and I will state that this Government, the one here now formed, has made its mistakes, but we desire to base our appeal on the universal desire among the people for independence and for self-government.

Representative LONGWORTH. I have observed that the gentleman is a close student of American history; I will ask him whether in his opinion the struggle for independence by the United States originated from a feeling that they were being treated with injustice and oppression or whether it was simply the desire such as he has expressed as being held by the Filipinos?

Señor ILUSTRE. I acknowledge that with the Americans the motives were the imposition of taxes and tributes and the injustice of certain measures that were oppressive; also the fact that no action was taken by the dominant Government to correct those abuses.

Representative LONGWORTH. Then does the gentleman consider that the cases are parallel?

Señor ILUSTRE. I have already answered that question when it was addressed to me by another gentleman. I have said that it was a very delicate subject. In order for me to be able to answer that exactly it would be necessary for me to go back to the time of the occupation of these Islands by the Americans; I do not desire to do that.

Representative LONGWORTH. One more question along a different line: I would like to ask if the gentleman is familiar with the qualifications of electors in the United States, for the election of members of the House of Representatives?

Señor ILUSTRE. No, sir; I have not that information, because I have not made a detailed study of that subject in regard to each separate nation, but I have read considerable in a general way upon the qualifications of electors in civilized countries.

Representative SCOTT. I desire to make this inquiry: The gentleman's statement has occupied thirty minutes and the questions which followed have now occupied one hour and fifteen minutes. I desire to ask whether the hour and fifteen minutes is to be taken out of the four hours assigned for hearing complaints or whether it is to be in addition thereto?

The CHAIRMAN. That is for the gentlemen of the delegation to determine.

Representative SCOTT. Well, it is an important question. If these gentlemen are to have only four hours to make their statements and any questions are put in addition thereto, it is clear that our session will cover twelve or sixteen hours, instead of four or five.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the pleasure of the delegation upon that subject?

Representative SCOTT. Mr. Chairman, in order to present the matter, it seems to me the only way to carry out our resolution in good faith is to give these gentlemen four hours to present their cases and that any questions should be in addition to that time. In order to test the matter, I make that as a motion.

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman from Kansas, Mr. Scott, moves that these gentlemen be given four hours exclusive of the time taken up in cross-examination. Those in favor reply by saying "aye" [a pause], those opposed "no" [a pause]. The "ayes" have it.

Senator NEWLANDS. I should like to ask the gentleman who has just spoken whether he is a Tagalog or a Visayan?

Señor ILUSTRE. I am a Tagalog.

Senator NEWLANDS. How large a proportion of the junta in Hongkong are Tagalogs?

Señor ILUSTRE. Of the last members of the Hongkong junta for whom I can answer, only the president and myself were Tagalogs; of the other two members one was a Bicol and the other a Visayan.

Senator NEWLANDS. Has there been and is there still such a friendly feeling between the Tagalogs and Visayans as will permit them to coöperate in the government?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. Supposing that some of the Visayan Islands should show an unwillingness to form a part of the Filipino republic of which you speak—in that case would you show force in order to compel them to come into the republic thus formed?

Señor ILUSTRE. In the first place, we would avail ourselves of the very best means that we could to persuade them to come in; then I do not believe that we would have to go any further, because I believe that the people of those islands themselves would realize that it was for their interests to yield to our amicable persuasions.

Senator NEWLANDS. But what would you expect to do in case they refused to come in?

Señor ILUSTRE. In view of the fact that these Islands have always belonged to one group since their discovery by Magellan and the people here have been recognized as one people, I believe that we would have the right to refuse to allow them to separate themselves from the common group. Besides that, the federal government would be in a measure a remedy for this evil.

Senator NEWLANDS. Well, I understand you to mean that refusal upon the part of some of these islands would justify you in resorting to arms to force them to recognize your authority. Is that correct?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir; I believe it would be, exactly in the same manner when a member of the body is wrenched out of its proper place; it is quite proper to use force to bring it back to its proper position.

Senator NEWLANDS. Now, with reference to Mindanao; has there been in the past and is there now such a friendly feeling between the Moros and the Filipino people as to enable the former to coöperate with the Filipinos in such a government?

Señor ILUSTRE. We do not know; since the dissolution of the revolutionary Filipino government we have had no means of ascertaining, and we do not know what those relations are at the present time.

Senator NEWLANDS. Has the attitude of the Moros toward the Filipinos been friendly or hostile in the past?

Señor ILUSTRE. During the time of the Spanish Government the relations were not friendly for the reason that the Government of Spain, in order to impose its authority upon the Moro people, availed itself of Visayan and Tagalog troops for that purpose. Naturally under such conditions the Filipinos could not enjoy the friendship of the Moros.

Senator NEWLANDS. In case the people of Mindanao should indicate clearly their unwillingness to join the Filipino republic, would you then resort to force to compel them to become a part of that republic?

Señor ILUSTRE. I think it would be best to let time show what they would do under such circumstances. To-day it is only idle speculation. We must see what time would bring forth.

Representative GILLET. I would like to make a motion as to procedure. We have now been here two hours and a half and only thirty minutes of that time have been occupied by the statement, while two hours have been devoted to questioning; at that rate we will be here sixteen hours. I would suggest that the statements of the gentlemen be made at once and that then the questions should follow after they have finished with the presentation of their statements; otherwise we shall be unable to hear the statements in the two days that we have here; therefore, I move that these gentlemen be allowed to make their statements and that after that the cross-examinations be made and considered as additional time.

(This motion being put to a vote by the chairman, the same was passed.)

Mr. Alberto Barretto was then recognized.)

The CHAIRMAN. Will the gentleman please state his name and address?

Señor BARRETTO. Alberto Barretto; I am a lawyer of the city of Manila.

Senator LONG. Who does he represent?

Señor BARRETTO. I represent the same political group as does Mr. Ilustre; the last speaker.

Being convinced that the honorable members of the Congressional delegation who have come to these Islands have done so for the purpose of taking the pulse of the people and informing themselves as to the political and economic conditions that prevail in the Islands, I wish now to have the honor to address them upon these subjects. I believe that it is a well-acknowledged fact that the country is at present passing through an economic crisis that has brought it to very low conditions as regards prosperity with regard to the economic state of the country. You have heard of the epidemics which have been mentioned in this hall before this time, but we do not believe them to be the only cause of this depression.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, we must have order or we will clear the hall.

Señor BARRETTO. (Continuing.) Among the causes which we have considered as contributing to the present depressed state of affairs, I believe the economic policy that has been adopted in these Islands plays a considerable part. With regard to the depression in agriculture, I believe it is unnecessary for me to point out the law that has produced the present state of agricultural depression. In the minds of all the people, and, as I have been informed, in the minds of those at the head of the Government also, the land tax is recognized as one of the causes—and a powerful one—which has contributed to the present depression in agriculture. Realizing this to be a fact, the Government of its own volition has presented a measure which will be promptly put into force, by which the land tax will be suspended upon agricultural lands for three years.

We have always been criticised for pointing out the fact that our agriculture is in a bad condition or state without our suggesting the action that should be taken to lift it from its depressed condition. For that reason I would take the liberty of recommending the adoption of certain measures which we think will correct the evils from which we are now suffering. We believe, of course, that the first and principal measure which should be taken to relieve agriculture is the suspension of the land tax which arrests the development of agriculture. The second measure that we would propose is the collection of funds to be loaned for agricultural purposes. The third measure is the opening of new markets for our agricultural products. With regard to the second point, we recommend legislation which will foster the incorporation of agricultural mortgage banks for the purpose of relieving agriculture. We also recommend an amendment to the registration system, in order that titles may be more quickly and cheaply recorded and established. We also ask that legislation be enacted which will be a restriction or that will limit the amount of interest that may be charged upon loans to farmers. As regards markets, we would recommend that the economic policy with regard to these Islands would be the adoption of free trade. We make this recommendation upon the ground of the fact that the Philippine Islands are not eminently an industrial country and are not a country which would need a protective system in order to foster their industries. By having free trade with all the world, the Philippines, which stand

so much in need at the present time of the things necessary to develop their material interests, could produce those things in the best markets and at the lowest prices. The fact is not hidden from us that absolute free-trade policy has not a friend or propagator in the United States, but, of course, we fully understand the reason why there is no champion of free trade in the United States. It is because the United States is eminently an industrial country, one which requires the safeguarding and protection of its interests; but the Philippines are not in the same position. The existing industries, such as our ice factory, match factory, and others, all operate with raw materials that are imported into the Philippine Islands from abroad. Hence by the establishment of free trade the present industries of these Islands would be greatly benefited.

Now, if you pass on to the industries of secondary importance, such as the making of cigars, vino, and native wines, these have a local market sufficient for their support, and besides this are able to find the raw materials at home which are peculiarly a local product.

If the policy of absolute free trade can not be put into operation, however, we would suggest the signing of treaties by the United States with those powers that have furnished to us the best markets for our products. It is a fact recorded in the history of the Philippines and otherwise well known that the markets which have been most favorable to the Islands are England, Japan, Hongkong, China, Spain, and France.

Our purpose is to have these markets always open to our products, so that the sale of our products can not be limited solely and exclusively to the markets of America. It is an elementary principle in economics that the greater the number of markets the greater the amount of articles sold in those markets. By opening up a larger number of markets we will necessarily have a larger consumption for our products. This will increase the demand and enhance the price. But if, on the contrary, another policy is adopted and only the American market is thrown open to our products even if the extent of our production increased considerably we do not believe the price would increase to any considerable degree, for the reason that we would be limited to one market only.

We have suggested the establishment of mortgage banks in order to encourage capital to embark in agricultural enterprises and in order that those banks may furnish the money to the farmer which he needs to purchase those indispensable elements which are necessary for the development of agriculture.

We have also suggested the reform of the present legislation relative to the registration of land titles, asking that the law be so amended as to make the price of registration lower. Under the present system, although it is a modern system which has been introduced into these Islands, it takes a considerable amount of money to secure the registration of land titles, and for that reason the farmers have not the money at their disposal, or even if they have the money, hesitate to use it to secure titles to their lands when they are so badly in need of using their funds for the purchase of many articles necessary in the administration of their estates. Besides this it is necessary to perfect land titles in order that the lands may be made the basis of loans upon the part of the agricultural mortgage banks.

We also have recommended that legislation be enacted which will impose certain restrictions upon the money lenders and limit the amount of money that they can exact as interest upon their loans. Under the present conditions our farmers are in such need of money that it is not important to them what interest they pay, so long as they get the money which they need. It is for this reason that we have suggested and petitioned that legislation be enacted which will put a restriction upon the usurers engaged in money lending in this Archipelago. It has always been the system of these people to claim the lion's share.

With regard to the industries established in the country, there can be no doubt that the internal-revenue law has impeded their development. There can be no doubt that in so far as the internal-revenue law affects the distilling industry it has acted upon it in a very injurious manner, insomuch as it has greatly diminished its output. The rate of taxation that has been imposed upon alcohol has, therefore, as a matter of course, become burdensome to the producer of the raw materials used in the manufacture of this article. It is for this reason that we see the once prosperous regions, such as Bulacan, Pampanga, Pangasinan, and Capiz, now in a state of misery, whereas before they were in a flourishing condition. Our criticism of this law is not based upon our failure to recognize a system that is modern and based upon scientific principles. However, it is not that we object to it as an unscientific system, but that we believe that legislation should be enacted rather with regard to the good it will do the masses of the people at large than otherwise. Both the land tax and the internal-revenue law, although based upon acknowledged scientific principles,

are put into operation in the Philippine Islands at a time when the condition of things would not permit of their operation, and instead of being beneficial measures they have been the opposite.

With regard to the application of the internal-revenue law to the tobacco industry, we have noted the same provisions of law which will lead, in the not very distant future, to the decline of the tobacco industry in these Islands. This law restricts the development of the tobacco industry in so far as it relates to the local consumption of tobacco, while on the other hand it favors the exportation of tobacco, especially leaf tobacco. As a positive proof of what I say, I can state the fact that in the neighboring colony of Hongkong they are to-day establishing a factory for the making of Filipino cigars with Chinese workmen from materials purchased in these Islands. The tobacco manufactured there is sold at a cheaper price than here in the city of Manila.

Now, with regard to the application of the internal-revenue law to the lumber business, I can point out other defects of this measure. The taxes that are imposed by the internal-revenue law upon the forest products of these Islands are greater than the customs duties that are imposed upon foreign lumber brought into the Islands. Following this system it must be quite clear to anyone that the Filipino lumbermen can not compete with the lumbermen who deal in foreign materials.

There can be no doubt that the laws that have been enacted by the Government in these Islands have contributed not a little to the state of depression of the industries of the Islands. We realize and acknowledge that the Government had good intentions in establishing and enacting these laws, and while we recognize the correctness of the principle of exacting from citizens a tribute for the support of the Government, we do not recognize the power in the state of competing with a private individual in business and thus preventing him earning his living. Now the Government Ice Plant, the Government Printing Office, and the commissary stores of the Government all come within this category.

The present legislation has also had an influence upon commerce. Many changes that have been made in the last seven years in the customs tariff have contributed not a little to keeping away foreign capital, which otherwise would have been invested in business in these Islands. The business man who desires to establish himself in these Islands must know that the customs

duties upon the articles which he handles are of a stable character, for if he can not depend upon the stability of the tariff he has to run a risk that he does not care to assume. Therefore, in order to protect business and business men in these Islands, it would be necessary to have some stability, or at least that changes should be less frequent. The provisions of the Customs Administrative Act with relation to the regulations as to shipping and the issuance of navigation licenses have acted in such a way as to restrict navigation. Many of the regulations and requirements of the surveyor of the port of Manila with regard to the coastwise ships are of a character that from one point of view is worthy of praise since they tend to safeguard the lives and property of the people; but, on the other hand, under the present condition of trade in the Philippine Islands and business in general, it would be a benefit to navigation if these measures were made less strict than at the present time. We have thought that if the law were amended in this way, a great many ships, both sail and steam vessels, now lying in the harbor of Manila, as well as in that of Cavite and other places, would be put into use.

Now, the commissary stores established throughout the Islands for selling food stuffs, both to the soldiers and to civilians, even including rice, take away such a large measure of business from those legitimately engaged in commerce as to be an evil.

Senator WARREN. Mr. Chairman, if agreeable to the speaker, I would like to move that we take an adjournment until 3 o'clock this afternoon, when he can finish his remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. How long will the gentleman need to complete his remarks?

Señor BARRETTO. I would like to have three-quarters of an hour to an hour, but I am willing to adjourn at this time.

Senator WARREN. I move, then, that we adjourn until 3 o'clock.

(The motion was carried and a recess taken until 3 o'clock this afternoon.)

AFTERNOON SESSION.

(The meeting was called to order, pursuant to adjournment, at 3.30 p. m., with Senator Scott, of West Virginia, in the chair.)

The CHAIRMAN. The gentleman who had the floor before the recess will proceed.

Señor ALBERTO BARRETTO. In order that the demands of the

Government may be met and in view of the fact that we have attacked the system of taxation at present in force in these Islands, such as exemplified by the internal-revenue law and the land tax, we propose that the taxes be made lower and that the administration be made more economical than it is at present. We advocate the abolition of those administrative centers or offices that do not meet any practical end, and even of those offices of the Government which, while they are excellent, are expensive to the tax-payers. We advocate the lowering of the rates of the internal-revenue taxation; we ask for a simplification of the system of administration. We base our demands upon the fact that at the present time the administrative system is entirely too bureaucratic; there is a multitude of wheels that are of little use. We advocate the abolition of certain governmental organizations that are really useless and serve to increase the budget; among them we might mention first the Bureau of the Insular Purchasing Agent, which costs the State ₱800,000. During the Spanish administration the system followed in buying supplies was to appoint a member of each department as purchasing agent for that particular department, and there was no necessity for the maintenance of an expensive Bureau like the present one of the Insular Purchasing Agent.

We desire a modification of the system followed by the Civil Service Board. We are not opposed to the filling of offices in the Government service through competitive examinations which show the qualifications and fitness of the applicants, but the manner in which this is done at the present time we consider in a measure useless or at least not in obedience to the purposes which it seeks to accomplish. The powers of the Civil Service Board are restricted to ascertaining the qualifications of an applicant for an office in the Government service and making him eligible to that office for a period of one year, but, however, such eligibles are subject to the will of any head or Chief of Bureau or Office, who may either reject or appoint an applicant as he wishes. Following this system, the Civil Service Board simply becomes a wheel without a purpose. We believe that the needs of the Civil Service Board can be served equally well by the appointing of examining boards, which should be made up of individuals who are competent to pass upon the subjects in which the different applicants are examined. By following such a system we would only have to pay the per diems of the

members of such examining boards during the time they are constituted. This is the system that existed in the Philippine Islands during the Spanish administration. Under Spanish rule such boards were organized for the purpose of examining applicants for the treasury department, for the judicial department in its different branches, and also for the office of register of property, and for other services. These boards made a list of the applicants who had passed an examination successfully and no further examination was held until a certain proportion of the eligibles upon this list had been provided with offices. By following such a system now we would find another means of economizing in the budget.

We also advocate the abolition of the Insular Ice Plant and of the Public Printing Plant. It is my understanding that the purpose of the Insular Government in establishing the Bureau of Public Printing was to educate Filipinos in the art of printing. Now, if that is the end sought, I can say that there are private concerns doing business in the Philippine Islands that turn out as good work as the Bureau of Public Printing, and therefore this purpose has already been met. Now, all these departments cost the Government a great deal of money, and their abolition would enable a great economy to be made in the expenses of the Government. Thus the savings or economies could be taken advantage of by lowering the rate of taxation under the internal-revenue law. Now, if we were to establish free trade between the Philippine Islands and all the countries of the world that would also produce a great economy in the budget, in view of the fact that we would eliminate the Customs Bureau, which is a very expensive one to maintain; by simplifying the administrative system followed here and cutting out many useless Bureaus and reducing the number of employees we would have great economy in the expenses of the Government. All these are suggestions or recommendations that I have the honor to make with regard to the economic questions in the Islands.

Now I wish to take up another matter that is closely related to the economic condition of the Islands, and that is the construction of railroads. We ask that no concession be given for the building of railroads in these Islands until the popular legislative assembly of the Islands shall be organized. In making this petition we base our grounds upon the following: That such concessions affect the general interests of the country, and that the date for the organization of the legislative assembly being so near at hand it would be

best to leave the matter of the concession of these privileges for railway construction to the representatives of the people by popular vote, as they are best able to judge of the advantages of such a system. We believe that the 4 per cent which is guaranteed by the Government upon the bonds of these railroads will necessarily be a burden in the end upon the taxpayer. The country is now passing through a crisis and it is quite clear to everyone that it is impossible for it to recover overnight. We contend that the profits that can be earned by these railroads in the Philippine Islands during this period of depression will be so small, if there be any at all, as to throw a great burden upon the taxpayers in meeting the 4 per cent upon their bonds. Another of my reasons for opposing the railway construction is that the Islands are essentially a maritime country; that their natural highways of commerce are those of the sea. Nature points out to us the sea as the easiest and most natural method of transportation.

Another of the reasons is that the guaranty of 4 per cent upon the bonds of the railroad companies would necessarily imply, under the present condition of affairs in the Islands, a great expense or outlay for the Government, and this expenditure would serve a much better purpose if it were applied to the present provincial highways and other wagon roads that at present are in a sad state and need repair. Furthermore, the construction of railways would take away from the fields and other agricultural labor a great many hands that to-day are needed in that work. However, in constructing wagon roads throughout the Islands the laborers would not have to go away from their places of residence, but would find time to work both upon the roads and in their fields. Another of our objections to these concessions is the fact that they are perpetual. Owing to the depressed condition of the country at the present time it will be impossible for Philippine capital to have any participation in the construction of these railway enterprises, hence these concessions will remain perpetually in the hands of those companies coming from the outside who have the necessary capital.

A parallel to the law granting power to the Government to make concessions to railroad companies is the homestead law. It is proposed to so modify this law as to allow large concessions of public lands to foreign corporations and individuals. We advocate that these concessions be not made more extensive than the law allows at present, and we base our petition upon the fact that we foresee

the arising of the same agrarian problem with regard to the concessions of land so made as we have had to contend with in connection with the friar lands. Moreover, we have constantly heard from the lips of our legislators here, the people in authority in the Philippine Islands, as well as from the Senators and Congressmen who are visiting us now, that these Islands are to be for the Filipino people. Now we desire that this principle which has been universally proclaimed to us shall be carried into practice. We of course understand the laudable desire of the American Government in endeavoring to promptly develop the internal resources and wealth of these Islands, but we desire that development be such that in time it shall be for the benefit of the Filipinos.

This is not the only time that the Philippine Islands have passed through a serious crisis. In 1888 the rinderpest ravaged the entire cattle industry of the Island of Luzon. I must state—I was the son of a cattle owner in the Philippine Islands—that at that time the rinderpest attacked and destroyed about 95 per cent of the cattle of these Islands. Notwithstanding this loss, however, owing to the administration then conducted in these Islands—which was much less expensive and wasteful than the present one—after five years this industry was brought back to its normal state. In 1893 and 1894 agriculture in the Philippine Islands was in its apogee.

Passing on now to the political questions or conditions, I shall take up the central power of government in the Islands, dealing with it in its three departments—legislative, judicial, and executive. Regarding the legislative power, which rests in the Philippine Commission, it is our desire to point out certain consequences which necessarily follow the system here enforced. The first consequence of the exercise of this legislative power has been the destruction of our codes which were in operation at the time the American Government came to these Islands. By means of reforms and amendments and of special laws the codes which were given to us and which were in force during the Spanish administration have been mutilated. Now, it is our opinion that progress along legislative lines is indicated by the codification of laws. Such has been the experience of progressive countries like Italy, Spain, France, and Germany. Owing to the system that is carried on in the enactment of laws in the Philippine Islands, the people have no participation whatever in the making of those laws. The people of the

Islands have no power to elect representatives to form the body of gentlemen who make the laws for the land. It is of course impossible for the people to be represented in the making of such laws. From this we have the condition that there are many laws that are scientific in their principles, but are not in conformity with the best interests of the people.

In speaking of legislation of course I shall have to point out those laws which are of most importance to the Filipino people, and among them I would indicate the law organizing and regulating the Insular Constabulary police. By a provision of this law the principle contained in the constitutional act of the Philippine Islands as well as in the Constitution of the United States, that no one shall be arrested without due process of law, is infringed upon. This law is also objectionable in that it gives a universal power to the Constabulary. By the provisions of this law the Constabulary are enabled to arrest and detain persons without having them immediately brought to trial or giving them a hearing. The Constabulary are given the power to present their information or complaint against the person arrested whenever it is possible for them to do so. From this comes the fact that when the writ of habeas corpus is suspended the peaceable citizen who is arrested by the Constabulary has no means by which he can get a hearing, nor can he be released upon bail, for the reason that the relief under the writ of habeas corpus can not be resorted to in view of its suspension.

Passing on to the judicial department I will say that the judicial system introduced into these Islands does not recognize the well-founded spirit that is recognized all over the world, which is the independence of the judicial power and the stability of the judges. Furthermore, the different judicial departments are not so distributed as to be in relation with the means of communication which are available in this country. Instead of provincial judges or judges in each province we have only district judges, and owing to the poor means of communication which exist in the Islands at the present time, no judge is able to expedite the trial of judicial matters even if he put forth his best efforts to do so. This fact also makes the administration of justice an exceedingly expensive affair, and makes the special remedies that are provided by the present Code of Civil Procedure almost null in their effect. This is because the applicant is obliged to look for the judge—if he is

not in his own district—in that district in which he is holding a special term of court.

Now I shall take the liberty of turning over the floor to Mr. Lukban, who will speak upon the executive department of the Government—that is to say, with the permission of the chairman of this meeting.

The CHAIRMAN. The chair has nothing to say about it. We have given the gentlemen time in which to be heard and they have about an hour of time yet.

(Señor Justo Lukban, a physician, then took the floor.)

Señor LUKBAN. I am affiliated with the same political organization as the two gentlemen who have preceded me on the floor. In the first place, I shall make a synthesis of the points upon which I wish to speak. I shall speak upon two particular subjects.

Relative to the executive power, this power is embodied in that exercised by the Insular Government, by the provincial governments, and by the municipalities.

Now, the second subject upon which I desire to speak is with regard to the general budget of the Islands. In the first place, I shall call your attention to the constitutional law of the Philippines, or rather the Lodge-Cooper bill, as enacted into law and commonly known as the constitutional act of the Philippine Islands. This act provides that the legislative power shall rest in the Philippine Commission, which is to be composed of the Governor-General, four heads of executive departments, and three Filipinos. But it also provides that the executive power shall reside in the Governor-General and the four American heads of departments. Now section 1 of said act further provides that when the Philippine assembly shall have been organized the legislative power shall be divided among this legislative chamber and the upper chamber, which is to be the Philippine Commission. Now, with all due deference to the Congress of the United States, we would say that by the enactment of this section of that act one of the political rights of the citizens is violated, inasmuch as there is conferred upon certain members of the Government not only legislative power but also executive power, whereas in all civilized countries where the officers of the government hold executive power they are not given power in the making of laws, nor do they hold any legislative office. The only country that is an exception to this rule is that of England, and this system has been adopted in England because it is the

only practical one that can be carried out under their form of government; but whenever executive power is conferred upon any member of the House of Commons or the House of Lords in the British Parliament the will of the people whom he represents is consulted as to whether they are agreeable to his holding executive office while continuing to hold executive power.

However, in order not to go too deeply into the analysis of the different forms of government which obtain in different parts of the world, and in order to limit my remarks to the desires of the Filipino people with regard to its government here, I will state that in the near future, when the Philippine assembly shall have been established, the people desire that the members of the Philippine Commission shall no longer exercise executive power. We do not doubt nor can we ever have doubt of the good intentions of the members of the Philippine Commission, but when the legislative power is transferred from the hands of the Philippine Commission to the legislative assembly and the Philippine Commission together, then if the same system is followed as is now in force the legislative assembly will simply be a consultative chamber. We refer to the power that will be left in the hands of the Philippine Commission after the legislative assembly is established. A bill may originate in the legislative assembly or the legislative assembly may enact an appropriation bill or refuse to do so, and make modifications with regard to the salaries of employees, and yet the legislative assembly will have no power to prevent the enactment of that bill if the Philippine Commission desires to pass it. However, if both of these legislative chambers would be elected by popular vote, and if there were any lack of harmony between the two chambers, the people could only say in the end that both of these chambers represented the popular will.

I shall now deal with the Philippine Commission, not with relation to its legislative or executive powers but as the central government of the Philippine Islands. The distribution of the executive bureaus at the present time is made between four departments; first, that which is in charge of the Secretary of the Interior; second, that which is in charge of the Secretary of Commerce and Police; third, that which is in charge of the Secretary of Finance and Justice, and, fourth, that in charge of the Secretary of Public Instruction. Now, we believe that this distribution is a good one, and yet we believe that it could be improved. For example, we

would place one secretary in charge of commerce and finance, and another one in charge of the interior and of police. We do **not** believe that under American principles there is any necessity for the existence of a secretary of justice. The appointment of **all** judges and judicial officers can be made by the Supreme Court of the Islands, with the approval of the Governor-General. If it is the purpose of the American Government to teach us to govern ourselves, inasmuch as the capacity to do so now is denied us, we will state that it is impossible for us to learn this lesson unless participation be given to the Filipinos themselves in the highest offices of the Government. Up to the present time the only participation of the Filipinos in the Government is that which is given them in the municipalities; they have none in the provinces and much less in the Central Government. The four members of the Central Government who are the heads of the four Departments are all Americans.

This leads me to speak of the Provincial Government Act, Act No. 83 of the Philippine Commission. I would say frankly with regard to this law that what it needs is not amendment; it has already been amended many times; what it requires is reform. We need a new law—we need it made over again. Now, we can criticise the Provincial Act from many points of view. Let us elect all the provincial board. The provincial board is made up of one elective officer, a Filipino, and two others who are appointed by the Commission. Now, we would desire, in order to make the provincial board a representative body, that all of the members be elected by the vote of the people, in order that they might represent the people. Whether they are Filipinos or Americans it matters not, so long as they are elected by the people. The powers of the provincial governor are limited at the present time simply to the inspection of municipalities and giving lodging to the judges of the district, and to being sheriff of the court. The present provincial governor has no control over the different departments of the provincial government. Such a control is necessary in order that there may be harmony and unity between the different departments. I shall give an example which shows the necessity for this control of the governor over the different departments of the province. For example, if the provincial governor sees the necessity for the improvement of any highway in the province and suggests to the provincial supervisor the necessity

for immediate work upon the road in question, the supervisor can answer him that he has absolutely no control over his department. Again, if there comes to the knowledge of the provincial governor that there is a shortage in the provincial cash or that there has been any defalcation, he can not make an investigation without the consent of the provincial treasurer, who can tell him that he has no control over his department. The provincial treasurer may say that the only control over his department is that exercised by the Insular Treasurer, and this, by the way, is restricted to a tri-monthly counting of the cash and the inspection of his books. Now, will it be said to me, gentlemen, that within a period of three months there is not sufficient time for dishonesty to take place with regard to the money of the province? Unfortunately in practice we have learned that there is plenty of opportunity.

There is another question which may appear of a trifling nature, notwithstanding the fact that I do not consider it so unimportant, and that is the salaries provided for the provincial governors. In my opinion they are exceedingly small considering the importance of the office which the provincial governor holds. Now, we fully understand that the salaries of the provincial officers should be regulated in accordance with the state of the provincial revenues, but what we can not understand is why the salary of a provincial governor should be less than that of a provincial treasurer. Many people say that the reason for giving a larger salary to the provincial treasurer is because the latter has more onerous duties to perform, but if we follow out this line of argument I would ask why it is that the Insular Treasurer receives less salary than the Governor-General, in view of the fact that the duties associated with the Insular Treasury are more onerous duties than those of the Governor-General. The provincial treasurer is not only the treasurer but he is the administrator of the entire finances of the province, so that we have the result that this official, after the governor, is really and truly the most important official in the province. Now, in view of the fact that the provincial treasurer is the absolute administrator of all the revenues of the province, the people of the province desire that he be a person in whom they have absolute confidence, and therefore he should be elected by them. Now, if this were made an elective office, the people in the different provinces would know how to select the treasurer and would be careful to select a man who had sufficient property to

safeguard the province from any loss which might occur through his acts. The argument may be brought forth with regard to the present provincial treasurers that they give bonds, but this is not a good argument for the reason that the amount of the bond usually furnished is not sufficient to cover the amount of money that they handle.

Now with regard to the provincial supervisor: It is owing either to the education that we have received at the hands of the Spanish Government or because we believe that this position is superfluous that we ask that it be abolished. The duties of the provincial supervisor are merely the inspection and construction of provincial highways and their preservation, and the performance of similar duties as regards the provincial buildings; some of his duties are purely technical, while others are not. We believe that the provincial governor could very well take charge and perform those duties which are not of a technical character. It is very often that in the construction of roads and their maintenance the provincial governor, on account of the prestige which he enjoys in the province, would be much better able to maintain the roads than the supervisor. We have seen during the time of the Spanish Government that the roads were constructed and maintained solely through the prestige of the provincial governor. Now as regards the matters that only a technical person could carry out: For the work which requires such technical or expert knowledge the services of persons might be employed who should be appointed upon the same basis as are the judges of the different districts; that is to say, they should have certain large districts to look after. If the judges are able now to attend to criminal and civil cases in their respective districts with more or less success, we believe that the district supervisor could very well handle a district made up of two, three, or four provinces, provided his duties were only to look after the technical work.

Representative HEPBURN. To whom does this gentleman refer when he speaks of "we" all the time during his speech?

Señor LUKBAN. When I say "we" I refer to the political group or organization whose ideals or political creed are contained in the document which we had printed and distributed among the Congressional delegation this morning. We might go further and say that the political group for which I am speaking and to which I belong has an ideal which is contained in the last sentence of the written document which was distributed this morning. This is

the only petition to which we subscribed, and is one which will be realized in so far as the generosity of the American people allows. (Note: The speaker referred to the petition for independence, which appears in the earlier part of this record.)

We consider that all the petitions made by the Federal Party and other political groups are mere suggestions, and while we support their petitions we consider them as suggestions. Our official needs are contained in the document to which I referred and which we presented to-day.

Representative GROSVENOR. If it will not trouble the gentleman, I would like to ask him a question. The document to which he refers and a copy of which I have here, and which will be put into the record, refers to two classes, the directing class or class which knows how to govern, and the obeying class or class which knows how to obey. I would like to ask him to which class he belongs.

Señor LUKBAN. We would not wish to answer that question ourselves because we might perhaps in answering it be considered as immodest and lacking in that humbleness of spirit which we should show, but the mere fact that we have come to this Marble Hall to take part in this discussion would indicate that we consider ourselves, although we do say it, as a part of the directing class. [Laughter.]

Representative GROSVENOR. Well, that answer could have been put in much fewer words.

Representative COOPER. Does the speaker think that a republic founded upon classes such as he proposes can endure?

(No answer.)

Señor LUKBAN. Now I shall pass on to the Municipal Code, and as I referred to the Provincial Act as a law which rather needed an entire revision and reenactment than amendments I will say that the Municipal Code is a law which reflects the highest credit upon the gentlemen who enacted it. However, there is an amendment to that Municipal Code which empowers the municipal president to call for the services of the citizens in repelling attacks upon the town by armed bands. We interpret this amendment as an attack upon individual rights; we consider that the Government should get together its own police force to insure the lives and property of the citizens, and we do not believe in any law which will take private citizens from all walks of life and make them take part in such work. We believe that in practice such

a law as this amendment implies, and as it is really, is one that is very harsh and should be repealed.

Now I shall touch upon my views in regard to appropriations. The present general appropriation bill which provides for the necessities of all the departments of the Insular Government appropriates an aggregate of ₱16,500,000, Philippine currency, annually, while the appropriations for the city of Manila amount to over ₱4,000,000 annually. We have, however, to add to these figures the appropriations made by the provinces and appropriations made by the Moro district. During Spanish times the entire Philippine budget amounted to ₱17,000,000 for all purposes. Now, while it appears that the difference is but slight, yet it must be stated that the Spanish budget for the Philippines contained many appropriations that are not covered by our present appropriation bills, such, for instance, as expenses for the maintenance of the army and navy and for the ecclesiastics, which are not included at all in our present appropriation acts. Now, the appropriations for army purposes amounted to ₱6,000,000, while the navy appropriations were ₱3,000,000; appropriations for the ecclesiastical force here were ₱1,200,000; then also there must be included in this budget the appropriations which were made for the Franciscan colleges in Spain, as they were strictly Philippine missions. Besides these there were included in the Spanish-Philippine budget many other items which no longer appear, such as subventions to the Duke of Veragua and the Marquis de Bedmar, as well as the pensions for civil employees. Adding together all these appropriations which are not now included in the appropriation bills of the Philippine Islands, we have an aggregate of ₱13,000,000. Accordingly if we take away from this ₱17,000,000 the ₱13,000,000 not now included in the appropriation acts, we have left only ₱4,000,000.

Now, where does this difference lie? In reply I will state there are many reasons for it, but one of them is the high salaries paid to Government employees. The second is the contingent expenses allowed to each Bureau or Office. If we examine the roster of Philippine employees we will find that the Secretaries of Departments are allowed for acting as legislative officers and executive officers the sum of \$15,000, while the heads of Bureaus get from \$6,000 to \$7,000 a year. As a general rule there are some Bureaus whose chiefs receive from \$3,000 to \$5,000. Again, there are many employees of the second, third, and fourth grades in each one

of the great Departments that receive \$4,000, \$3,000, and \$2,500 a year. We are extremely luxurious in the payment of salaries in the Government service, so much so that a mere postman who distributes mail will sometimes receive ₱100 a month. In order to make a reform of the entire system of salaries we would divide all Government employees into classes—into the first, second, third, fourth, and fifth classes. We believe if this were done it would economize a great deal in salaries; however, we are frank in this question of the payment of salaries and we believe that the salary assigned to the Governor-General of the Philippine Islands is too small; a salary of \$20,500 to a governor of 8,000,000 inhabitants is a very modest sum.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to state that there is only one hour left for the presentation of these statements, and the gentlemen should make their speeches having that fact in mind.

Señor LUKBAN. I have concluded my remarks.

(Dr. Dominador Gomez was then recognized.)

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name, address, and occupation.

Dr. GOMEZ. Dominador Gomez, a physician, resident in the city of Manila.

The Nationalist party and the Philippine Labor Union have charged me with the pleasant duty of greeting the honorable members of this delegation and of expressing to them their appreciation of the honor done them in visiting these Islands. Both of these organizations or entities for which I speak have their aspirations, both political and with regard to the economic problems. I should like to make it plain first of all that the vast majority of the members of these two organizations belong to that group which knows how to obey; however, they are united and in perfect accord with the political group whose representatives have preceded me on the floor. Their aspirations with regard to politics are those which are set forth in the memorial which I have distributed among the delegation—that is to say, the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands upon the basis of a perpetual neutrality, as was explained this morning. The Nationalist party, which is strictly and purely a political party, makes no representation other than this one, but the Philippine Labor Union will restrict its remarks to economic considerations which directly affect the laboring masses in these Islands.

The first consideration which the labor union has the honor to present to this delegation is the recommendation for the immediate

enactment of a law which shall protect the workingmen and secure them from loss through accident while in the performance of their work. With the change of sovereignty, activity along commercial and other economic lines has greatly increased and therefore the dangers to which the sons of toil are constantly exposed through accidents while in the performance of their humble duties have also greatly increased and multiplied. This is the first time that the views of the laboring people of these Islands have reached the ears of those who are in power, therefore we gladly avail ourselves of this wonderful opportunity now presented to us in order to make a representation to the honorable Senators and Congressmen here present of the feelings of the toiling masses and of their interests. We realize that the American Government has very good intentions with regard to its policy in the Philippine Islands, and that these intentions have been demonstrated by works done in behalf of the Filipino people; however, I must call to the attention of the honorable members of Congress who hearken to my words the fact of the injustice, if such a word can be used, of the Government of the United States in listening too much and in laying too much stress to the words and representations of that class of people known in this country as the "gente ilustrada" or the learned class.

Representative GROSVENOR. Do you refer to the directing class or the obeying class?

Dr. GOMEZ. With due deference to the member of Congress who has asked that question, I would like to say that it is impossible for me to answer his question without first making a distinction. The answer to his question should be that to-day there is no directing class in the country and that the only class we have now is the obeying class. We have all sworn allegiance to the American sovereignty. I was referring to the class of people who live in ease and comfort and who generally represent the intelligence and education of the country. However, the class which I represent and for which I speak represents the labor, the toil, and the sweat of the people, therefore I ask in favor of my constituents that a law be enacted—which it is within the power of the Congress of the United States to enact—which shall secure them against the results of injuries through accidents incurred while at work. Without this protective legislation the laboring men in the Philippine Islands have nothing to look forward to after years of

toil except disability, and in case of accident the laboring men have absolutely no legislation which will protect them, or, in case of death, which will protect their families.

Representative HEPBURN. Will the speaker explain how he would give that protection?

Dr. GOMEZ. Several legislative measures would have to be enacted in order properly to protect the workingmen against accident, but all that I would ask at present is that a law be enacted which would be a sort of accident insurance for the laboring men.

Representative HEPBURN. Who would manage it—the State—the Government?

Dr. GOMEZ. The employer would pay for any loss or damage suffered while the man was in his employ.

I should like to make it known that the sentiment of the people whom I represent—the sentiment of the toiling masses in the Philippine Islands as expressed in the articles of incorporation of their society and in their by-laws—is not a spirit of hostility toward the employer or toward the capitalist, but, on the other hand, it is a spirit of kindly affection and regard for both the employer and the capitalist. Our petition, therefore, is founded upon a spirit of equity and justice and not upon a spirit of unfairness toward our employers or toward the capitalists. I should like to remark in passing, and in relation to this subject, that several drafts of a law have been submitted to the Philippine Commission bearing upon this matter of protection of the laboring man against accident, but although several months have passed we have not heard what the action of that body upon these petitions has been. Now, in a session as short as this it is impossible for me to speak at length and in detail with regard to legislation of this character which should always have in mind the protection of the interests of both parties and be careful not to infringe upon the rights of the employer and of the laboring man, but when this draft becomes a bill and is brought up for public discussion prior to its enactment, then we shall take pleasure in coming here and in expressing our sentiments and making our arguments with regard to the amendments which we think should be adopted before enactment.

As the time is very short, I shall quickly pass to another subject, and one which is of the greatest importance for the reason that it might lead to international complications between the United States and other countries. I refer to the important question of

immigration. I should like to state here clearly and plainly, in a manner that will not lend itself to future misinterpretation, that the laboring man, or rather that the Philippine Labor Union, which represents thousands of laborers in the country, is not wholly opposed to Chinese immigration; they perfectly understand that a restricted Chinese immigration properly regulated by legislative enactment may benefit the country. The Filipino people are not ignorant of the fact that there is an immense wealth lying in our fields and forests which will remain there until, through labor, it is extracted and utilized. If the Filipino people desire to correspond to the grandeur and splendor which is represented by the American flag and American sovereignty in these Islands, it is their duty not only to develop and exploit the vast natural resources that lie in the soil of these fertile Islands but also to dig deep and search out its hidden treasures. However, we understand that morally and intellectually Chinese immigration can not produce good morals and good customs in the Islands. The Chinaman even in his physical ailments is worse than the man of any other race; his diseases are extrapathological; that is to say, there is not found in any pathological work the diseases with which the Chinaman suffers, nor do we find the same diseases having as great severity among other peoples as they have among the Chinamen. We here in the Philippines do not desire the Chinaman as a mechanic or as a teacher; we desire him, and this I will say, though it may be an offensive phrase to them—we desire the Chinese here merely and purely as work animals for the cultivation of our fields. We know, however, the many virtues of the Chinese laborer, virtues that I do not think are possessed by the laborer from any other part of the world. It is not my purpose here to mention more than in a very passing manner the conditions upon which legislation should be passed for the admission of Chinese laborers into the Philippines. The first condition of such legislation should be that the Chinese laborer coming into these Islands should devote himself entirely and solely to agricultural enterprises, to mining, and to purely unskilled labor in large manufacturing concerns requiring a large amount of purely unskilled toil.

But there is another immigration aside from the Chinese which in time will be as objectionable and perhaps more so, and that is the Japanese. They are but few at the present time, but as the years roll by they may greatly increase. With regard to Japanese

immigration into this country I have been instructed by the people whom I represent, the laborers of the Philippine Islands, merely to present the problem to the honorable members of this delegation, we confiding perfectly in the skill and wisdom of Congress in seeking a wise solution of this problem. However, I shall present one detail with regard to this subject which may be known to many of the members of this delegation, but which, on the other hand, I am sure is not known to all, and that is that the Japanese immigrant into these Islands does not arrive here as a laborer; he comes here as a merchant or business man. In order to comply with the law the labor contractor who imports him into these Islands furnishes him with the amount required by the customs authorities from every immigrant coming into the Islands under these conditions, and he passes himself off as a merchant or business man.

Before I finish I should like to bring up another very important point, and one that affects not only the laboring men themselves but also their wives, children, and the aged laborers. We need a legislative enactment which will regulate the hours of work and the employment of children and women, the sanitation of factories and workshops, and also the employment of women during the period when they are referred to as being in an interesting condition, as well as shortly after childbirth. By such a law we could hope to change the character of the Filipino laborer with regard to his attendance at work and with regard to his general capacity. It has been much talked over and bruited about, and perhaps the rumors have even reached the ears of Congress, that the Filipino laborer is a laborer who has but little love for work and not much constancy—that is to say, that he does not attend regularly to work. This imputation can not be wholly admitted, and I will go so far as to say that it is a calumny and insult upon the Filipino laborers. The real condition of affairs is that the laboring men as a general rule are not in good relations with one another, and that the intermediaries between the employer and the laboring man are generally men who tend to promote disturbances between the employer and the laboring men. It happens in many instances that where the owner of a factory or workshop himself directs the workmen and comes into contact with them without having any intermediary he is perfectly satisfied with the laboring people he employs. Without this labor law for which I plead the condition

of affairs is that the Filipino laboring man has absolutely no bonds between him and his employer, nor is the employer in any way responsible with regard to him. Now, this lack of a bond between the employer and the laborer is what has produced this lack of harmony and this misunderstanding between them, and which has resulted in the statement that the laboring man of the Philippines is defective.

The legislation to which I refer should also provide for labor contracts and contracts between laboring men and employers. Now, it is not the general belief among the workingmen that they should continually and perpetually ask for higher wages, because the laboring men realize that they would be benefited by receiving lower wages if the rule were general, and if the price of the articles which they consume, both of food and raiment, were proportionately low they would have no objection to the decrease in the amount of their wages. By this labor legislation we also hope to provide for a labor contract under which the Filipino laborer would be bound morally and legally to the better performance of his duties. When the honorable Secretary of War was Civil Governor of these Islands he had a magnificent idea or project which it was his intention to put into operation, and that was to create the office of Secretary of Labor, which officer should be charged with the duty of bringing about better relations between capital and labor. As I stated before, the legislation to which I refer would also provide for the sanitation of factories and workshops and regulate the employment of women and children. This is very important, especially so as regards the regulating of the employment of children, because by child labor, not only in this country but in other countries more advanced in civilization, employers by the payment of a half wage get as much labor and labor very similar in quality to that performed by a man. Besides this there is another point of view, and that is the political feature. If the aspirations that are contained in the memorial that has been distributed are to be realized we must consider that it is necessary to build up our children into sound and healthy men, and this will be impossible if we allow child labor to continue unregulated. However, this subject was dealt with much more ably than I can hope to deal with it a few days ago in the Liceo de Manila by Mrs. Dubois. This distinguished lady gave great importance to the care of children and to having mothers properly instructed to educate and train their little ones. If child labor

is not in some manner regulated in order to avoid all the evils which it implies, we will have a race of men who will not be fit, either physically, morally, or mentally, to exercise the duties of citizenship; without such legislation we will have a generation of young people who should be men by their years, but neither physically, mentally, nor morally are developed beyond the development of children.

Representative HEPBURN. Will the speaker please state to what extent child labor is now carried on in the factories here?

Representative GROSVENOR. And at what age?

Dr. GOMEZ. I have no statistics at hand, but I can say that I have seen in many factories in the Philippine Islands young children employed, and there is nothing in the way of a law which regulates the ages at which children can be employed.

Representative HEPBURN. Are there any considerable number of children—say, under 14 years of age—employed in factories?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir. There are quite a number of children, especially in the tobacco factories.

The CHAIRMAN. Before the gentleman has finished and before all of our delegation leave I want to announce that I have been informed that there are some reputable Filipinos—five or six—who would like to be heard some time and who say that they represent the Filipino people, and that the three gentlemen who have addressed us to-day do not represent the Filipino people.

Representative GILLET. Why are they not here to-day?

The CHAIRMAN. While these gentlemen have had the floor they have not had an opportunity to speak. What is the pleasure of the delegation in regard to this?

Representative HEPBURN. I move that we take a recess until 9 o'clock to-morrow morning.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish to say that there is a reception to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock. Perhaps it would be better to make it later.

Representative GROSVENOR. Make it 10 o'clock then.

Representative HEPBURN. Well, I will move to take a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning and that the delegation then hear the other gentlemen.

Dr. GOMEZ. I desire to state that although the chairman did not refer to me personally, but referred to the three gentlemen who preceded me on the floor—I wish to make it known that I have

with me my authority which authorizes me to speak in behalf of the Philippine Labor Union.

The CHAIRMAN. I wish to state that at the time I was told that these other gentlemen desired to be heard the present speaker had not taken the floor and so no reference could have been made to him. Has the gentleman finished his remarks? He has ten minutes yet.

Dr. GOMEZ. I have finished my remarks.

The CHAIRMAN. Then the motion is that we take a recess until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, when the other gentlemen will be heard.

(The motion to adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow, August 30, 1905, was then adopted and the meeting adjourned to that hour.)

MANILA, *August 30, 1905.*

(The meeting was called to order pursuant to adjournment at 10 o'clock a. m., with Senator Scott, of West Virginia, in the chair.)

The CHAIRMAN. We are ready to proceed with our hearing.

Representative PAYNE. Mr. Chairman, I have a list here of four provincial governors who have not been appointed by the Government but have been elected by the people and have been occupying their positions as provincial governors by reason of selection for these positions by the people. These gentlemen are Governor Dancel, of the Province of Rizal; Governor Tecson, of the Province of Bulacan; Governor Cailles, of the Province of La Laguna; and Governor Guzman, of the Province of Cagayan. Now, Mr. Chairman, I move that these gentlemen be heard for the next hour and a half, in order that we may get their views upon the subjects we have been discussing here.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. All those in favor of it respond by saying "aye" [a pause], all those opposed by saying "nay." [After a pause.] The "ayes" have it and the motion is carried, and we will be so governed.

Representative PAYNE. Suppose the first one of the governors be called. I should also like to ask him to confine his remarks to twenty minutes if he can, as there is only an hour and a half for the four of them.

Governor ARTURO DANCEL, of Rizal Province. Very well, sir. I wish to state, in the first place, that the sensible people of the Philippines—those who really have a love for their country—can

not for one moment think of the absolute independence of these Islands, nor of the independence of the Islands in the immediate future, owing to the present conditions and circumstances of the Islands. The basis for the future prosperity of the Philippine Islands is in its agriculture. At the present time its agriculture is little less than abandoned. For this reason I again repeat that the sensible people in the Philippine Islands have never thought of immediate independence. They know that for immediate independence three things are necessary, and that there is a total lack of these three needs. The needs to which I refer are (1) money; (2) more money; and (3) more money. [Laughter.] Now, it can not be denied that the Filipino people have hopes and aspirations for their ultimate independence. This is a fact which can not be denied, but the Filipino people also desire that this ultimate independence shall be based upon foundations that are firm, that are stable, and that are lasting. In the meanwhile, while fitting themselves for self-government, the people of this country desire that they be given an opportunity to manage the affairs of the Islands in all the Departments of the Government to the largest possible extent.

Now, gentlemen, that is all that I have to say. If there is any gentleman among you who wishes to ask me any questions, I am ready to answer them.

Representative PAYNE. What would you say, if you had immediate independence and a Filipino government established, as to whether the Archipelago would be in a state of peace or whether there would be internal disturbances?

Governor DANCEL. I believe that in case of granting immediate independence and the establishment of a Filipino government at the present time, that in place of peace we would have anarchy, because under the present conditions of the country if it were to have its immediate independence the right of might would prevail and not the right of law.

Several GENTLEMEN. That is a pretty good answer.

Representative PAYNE. I wish the gentleman would state what position he is holding, whether it is an elective one, and how many times he has been elected.

Governor DANCEL. The office I hold is that of provincial governor of Rizal Province. I hold the office by popular election, and am now in my first term.

Senator NEWLANDS. How large a proportion of the people in your province participated in your election?

Governor DANCEL. Nearly all the electors of the province—that is, a large majority. There were 140 electors in the province, and out of that number I received 109 votes.

Senator NEWLANDS. You say there are 140 electors; what is the population of your province?

Governor DANCEL. According to the last census, about 149,000.

Senator NEWLANDS. These 140 electors are composed of officials, are they not?

Governor DANCEL. Yes, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. Officials elected by the people?

Governor DANCEL. Yes, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. By what proportion of the people?

Governor DANCEL. I can not state exactly the proportion of the people who elect these officials to office; that depends upon the locality, or the number of inhabitants in each locality in which these officials were elected. Some of the towns are very large in territorial extent, and thinly inhabited. Now, these people who elected me to office are the councilors of the different towns, and the number of councilors in each town is determined by the classification of the town.

Senator NEWLANDS. Are these councilors elected by popular vote?

Governor DANCEL. Yes, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. But you can not state what proportion of the people participated in that vote? Was it 10 per cent, 15 per cent, or what?

Governor DANCEL. I believe that it might be about 10 per cent of the people who exercised the right of suffrage.

Senator NEWLANDS. Are the sentiments which you have expressed in regard to independence the sentiments of a majority of the councilors to whom you refer?

Governor DANCEL. I believe so, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. You say that your hope is for ultimate independence; when do you expect to realize that independence, or when do you think you will be prepared to assume the burdens of self-government?

Governor DANCEL. It is not for us to say when the time shall come for our independence; that will be fixed by the Government.

It is our duty, in the meantime, to labor and to make every effort to fit ourselves for self-government.

Senator NEWLANDS. Do you think that with the present instruction which the Filipino people are receiving as to self-government, by gradually giving them the powers of government, they would be ready for independence in twenty years?

Governor DANCEL. I think that that time is rather short.

Senator NEWLANDS. What time do you think would be adequate?

Governor DANCEL. I believe that if the Filipino people continue to learn the lesson which is being taught to them and if the American Government carries out in good faith the promise which it has made, in twenty-five or thirty years the Filipino people will be, perhaps, able to govern themselves. We must take note of the fact that thirty years in the life of a people can not be compared to the same period in the life of an individual. In the former case, thirty years is but a short space of time. We can truly say that at the present time we are scarcely beginning our task.

The CHAIRMAN. Does the committee wish to limit this gentleman to twenty minutes?

Senator NEWLANDS. Well, I have just one question more.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, his twenty minutes have expired.

Senator NEWLANDS. Well, just this question please: Take the peasant class, called "taos," who constitute, I believe, about 95 per cent of the population—would that class join in the views expressed by the governor, or would they accept the views of the gentleman who spoke to us yesterday?

Governor DANCEL. Now, I have said that the sensible people—meaning the people who study, the people who reflect—are not in favor of immediate independence. Now, with regard to the masses of the people—that is, the lower classes, the poor people—I would say that this country is a very special one with regard to that class. The lower classes form a large mass of the people, who are easily led or swayed one way or the other. I, as governor of my province, have therefore tried to inculcate into the minds of the masses the idea of work, telling them to cease talking upon politics, telling them that what we needed here was not orators but plowmen (*no oradores sino aradores*). [Applause from the Congressional delegation.]

Senator NEWLANDS. Has the gentleman anything further to say with regard to my question? I wish to know what their sentiments are with regard to independence.

Governor DANCEL. It is impossible to find out what the ideas of the great mass of the people are upon that subject, but I have already said that it is very easy to lead them in the right way or in the wrong way, and that for that reason I have tried to make them learn the value of work and of industry.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to ask the governor one question: Do I understand him to say that the people who have the interests of the native masses at heart are those who favor postponing the independence until they are ready for it?

Governor DANCEL. Those people do not desire independence at present; no, sir. What the sensible people do desire is that the Government extend the largest possible protection to agriculture, in order that the natural wealth of the country may be developed.

The CHAIRMAN. The twenty minutes assigned to the speaker have expired. Let the next governor be called. We will next hear from Governor Tecson, who will please state his name, the position he holds, whether he has been elected by the people, and, if so, how many times.

Governor PABLO TECSON. My name is Pablo Tecson, and I am the governor of the Province of Bulacan. I have been twice elected to the office I hold by popular suffrage.

The CHAIRMAN. The speaker may proceed and let us know what his people want.

Governor TECSON. I would like to be excused from making any address. I have not prepared any speech and am not ready to address the delegation, but would be glad to answer any questions which may be directed to me.

Representative PAYNE. I would like to ask the gentleman whether, in his opinion, the people of the Philippine Islands ought to have immediate independence or not?

Governor TECSON. It has been the unanimous desire of the Filipino people, and formerly I was one of the most urgent advocates of that idea, but lately I have become convinced that the Filipino people would gain more by remaining under the sovereignty of the United States, under a government composed of Filipinos and Americans, until the people shall be fit for self-government.

Representative PAYNE. What do you say as to the sentiment of the educated class of Filipinos upon the question of immediate independence?

Governor TECSON. There are many opinions. Some are in favor

of immediate independence, while others would desire it as an ultimate result.

Representative PAYNE. What is your opinion as to whether peace and quiet would follow immediate independence or whether there would be disturbances?

Governor TECSON. I can not say; it is difficult to judge the future. I can only speak of conditions as they exist in my own Province of Bulacan. Immediate independence might perhaps be followed by disturbances.

Representative PAYNE. Do you think that the Moros, for example, would submit quietly to a government by the Filipinos?

Governor TECSON. I can not say as to that.

Representative PAYNE. You only speak for your own province?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. And you think that there would be disturbances there?

Governor TECSON. I think I can be sure that in the Province of Bulacan there would be no disturbances. During the time of the insurrection the chiefs of the revolutionary government, of whom I was one, were able to keep peace in the province.

Representative PAYNE. What percentage of the inhabitants would be able to take part in the government at this time?

Governor TECSON. Very few, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Now, that would be the educated and wealthy class, would it not?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Is it not charged at this time that these two classes gather in the fruits of the labor of the "tao" class?

Governor TECSON. As a general rule, they do not; of course there are instances where they do.

Representative PAYNE. Do you speak of your own province?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir; with reference to my own province.

Representative PAYNE. But the wealthy and educated classes are the classes that do this kind of exploiting?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir; but of course not all of them do that.

Representative PAYNE. No; of course there are some honest men. Now, if they had an opportunity to govern these people, would they not have a still greater opportunity to rob them?

Governor TECSON. Well, I have already answered that remark

to a certain extent by saying that we are not yet fitted for self-government.

Representative PAYNE. Well, I appreciate the answer in that form. Has not your province accepted well the educational system established by the American Government?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Would that system be secured and continued if they were to have immediate independence and government by the Filipinos themselves?

Governor TECSON. No, sir; I do not believe that it would, for the reason that the Philippines have not sufficient resources to maintain such a system of education.

Representative PAYNE. The statement was made here yesterday that a certain body of men desired free trade—that is, to abolish all customs duties. They also desired to abolish the internal-revenue tax, and they desire to abolish the land tax, and in fact all taxes yielding much revenue. Now, if such a body of men as that got hold of the government, would there be a dollar available for education?

Governor TECSON. Education would be impossible, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The twenty minutes of the gentleman have expired.

Senator NEWLANDS. Let me ask him a few questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, if the committee has no objections.

Senator NEWLANDS. Do you belong, or have you ever belonged, to either the Nationalist or the Federal party?

Governor TECSON. No, sir; I do not belong to either one of them.

Senator NEWLANDS. Do you believe that in order to prepare the Filipino people for self-government it is necessary to have a common language?

Governor TECSON. Yes, sir; I believe a common language is necessary, as at present we have to use Spanish as an official language between the people.

Senator NEWLANDS. Do the Filipino people prefer that that common language should be Spanish or English, or one of the native dialects—Tagalog, Visayan, or some other of the native dialects?

Governor TECSON. I remember that during the revolutionary government, that government recommended the adoption of Tagalog as the common language.

Senator NEWLANDS. Is that the desire of the Filipino people generally?

Governor TECSON. The majority of the members of the Malolos congress voted in favor of Tagalog as the official language.

(Note by the reporter: The constitution proclaimed at Malolos on January 21, 1899, provided as follows:

ART. 93. The use of the languages spoken in the Philippines is optional. It can only be regulated by the law, and solely as to the acts of popular authority and judicial affairs. For the purpose of these acts the Spanish language shall be used at present.)

Senator NEWLANDS. What is the present sentiment of the Filipino people—do they desire that English shall be made the common language or do they desire Tagalog?

Governor TECSON. After Spanish, the people would prefer English; that is, at the present time.

Senator NEWLANDS. Within what time do you think the knowledge of English can be so far advanced in the Islands as to make it the common language of the people?

Governor TECSON. In my humble opinion, it would require from twenty to twenty-five years; I think that within twenty-five years it would become general throughout the Islands.

Senator NEWLANDS. Within what time do you think the Filipino people would be so far advanced as to have a common language and as to the creation of a public opinion or sentiment, and in the essentials of self-government, so as to enable them to carry on their own government?

Governor TECSON. That will depend upon the efforts put forth by the Filipino people themselves and the assistance given by the Government of the United States.

Senator NEWLANDS. In your judgment, will the Filipino people be prepared for self-government in twenty-five years?

Governor TECSON. I think that in twenty-five years we will have reached the level of the Cubans.

The CHAIRMAN. We have had this gentleman on the floor now for thirty minutes; if we are going to hear the other two governors we will have to move along.

Vice-Governor IDE. May I make a single statement?

The CHAIRMAN. I think the committee would be willing.

Vice-Governor IDE. The only statement I desire to make is that the provincial governors depend not merely upon their own people

for their elections but likewise for their salaries. They are not paid from the Insular Treasury to the slightest degree, but are dependent upon their own people for votes and salaries.

The CHAIRMAN. Now let the next governor be called—Governor Cailles. (After a pause.) He does not seem to be here. Is Governor Guzman here? If neither one of the other governors is present, what is the pleasure of the committee?

Representative SCOTT. I understand that there was ten minutes due the gentlemen who were talking yesterday, and we might give them that time.

Senator NEWLANDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to inquire whether there is to be an executive session with the Commission or not?

The CHAIRMAN. Not that the chair knows of. The committee has not expressed its desires in regard to the matter.

Senator NEWLANDS. Well, I move that there be such an executive session at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

The CHAIRMAN. If there is no objection, the chairman will consider that the motion for an executive meeting of this body with the Philippine Commission at 4 o'clock this afternoon has been carried, and will announce that the meeting will be held at the office of the Governor-General.

I will announce that the people who were speaking yesterday still have ten minutes.

Representative HILL. I would like to ask the second gentleman who spoke yesterday a question. The gentleman said yesterday that he would abolish all custom-houses, abolish the internal-revenue tax, and abolish the land tax. Now the internal-revenue law realizes ₱6,000,000 annually, the customs tariff ₱16,000,000, and the land tax ₱2,000,000; making ₱24,000,000, all told.. What would he substitute in lieu of those taxes?

Señor ALBERTO BARRETTO. In the first place, I did not say yesterday that I advocated the absolute abolition of the land tax. In regard to the land tax, I said that I advocated its suspension for a period of three years, in accordance with the policy of the Government; for it is my private opinion that the land-tax assessment as now carried on by the Government is wrong, because the tax is collected upon the value of the property, and where we are passing through periods of financial depression and an agricultural crisis such as at present, the farmer has to employ his funds in the

payment of taxes upon his land instead of in the cultivation and development of his property. I would have the land tax upon the value of the products of the land, and not upon the land itself.

Representative HILL. Well, now, I understand that the Central Government does not have the proceeds of the land tax at all. They all go to the provinces and municipalities, so that he has advocated the abolition of practically all the revenues of the Central Government, which are received entirely, to all practical purposes, from the customs and the internal-revenue tax. Now I would like to know how he is going to run the Government?

Señor BARRETTO. In the first place, I have not asked for the total abolition of the internal-revenue law.

Representative HILL. Do you favor the internal-revenue system as a means for providing revenue for the maintenance of the Government?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir.

Representative HILL. Would he provide all the revenues by an internal-revenue system?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; but I have only attacked the internal-revenue law with regard to the rate of taxation placed upon certain industries.

Representative HILL. But would not your proposition compel an increase rather than a decrease in the internal-revenue tax in view of the fact that you abolish other forms of taxation?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; I acknowledge that. In advocating free trade I advocate it as a principle which I think would redound to the benefit of the country and develop its wealth if adopted here. Now, I did not say yesterday that I wished the customs tariff abolished without substituting something for it; I simply stated that if the Philippine Islands had free trade with the rest of the world their property values would increase; industry, commerce, and trade would also prosper and increase; and I may cite, as an example of prosperity under free trade, the neighboring colony of Hongkong.

Representative HILL. Let me ask you a question: Do you know of any country in the world that admits cigars and tobacco free, and can you hope to have free trade with any nation of the world in those articles except the United States?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; the port of Hongkong.

Representative HILL. Yes; but does he consider that a nation?

(Objection being here made to the speaker occupying further time, after some discussion Representative Cooper was recognized.)

Representative COOPER. Mr. Chairman, I move that these people have a half hour to elaborate their views; we came 10,000 miles to listen to them. We gave them the privilege in the bill of rights of presenting their grievances and I think we should hear them.

Representative PAYNE. I do not think any motion is necessary. So long as questions are asked, they have a right to answer.

Señor BARRETTO. The system of absolute free trade does not exist in any country in the world. I am aware of that. And, in proposing such a system for the Philippine Islands, of course I do not intend that we should separate ourselves from the line of policy that is followed by every free-trade country in the world. I do not pretend to be an author of any new system of free trade. Every country in the world imposes indirect taxation upon articles of luxury and upon articles that are considered of vicious use. I claim that by developing the prosperity of the Philippine Islands through free trade with the rest of the world the consumption of such articles would be so much greater as to cover the loss occasioned by the abolition of the customs tariff.

Now, with regard to another matter which we spoke of yesterday. It was claimed that we do not represent the Filipino people, and, as I understand it, I was to be allowed an opportunity to-day to refute that statement. I would like to state now that we do not pretend to represent the entire Filipino people, but we do pretend to represent a group of Filipino citizens who are interested in the prosperity of the country, and we believe that we reflect one sentiment of the entire people.

Representative PAYNE. Before the gentleman goes into that, I would like to ask him a question as to taxation. Does he think that with free trade—that is, with free trade which would allow tobacco and alcohol to come in free of duty—that the tendency would be to so develop the domestic industries of alcohol and tobacco manufacture, having to pay, as they do, the internal-revenue tax, as to increase rather than diminish the present tax collected upon alcohol and tobacco; in other words, by throwing those industries open to unrestricted competition with foreign materials, would that tend to develop the industries?

Señor BARRETTO. But it is my understanding, in carrying out this free-trade policy, that the Government would of course impose

large taxes upon the articles which you mention, for the purpose of internal revenue, and that by the increased prosperity and increased consumption of these articles the Government would get as large revenue from tobacco and from alcohol privileges as it does now from both the internal-revenue and the customs tariff.

Representative PAYNE. From the internal-revenue and customs tariff both? That is his idea, then, of running a government?

Señor BARRETTO. I believe so, yes; and think the revenue would be sufficient. Even if it were not equal to what is now collected, I have met that contingency by proposing economy in the administration and a reduction of the number of employees, together with a more simple administration of the Government.

Representative PAYNE. But that is a mere bagatelle as compared with the taxes he is abolishing. The saving from that could not amount to much in comparison. On the other hand, the taxes that he is wiping out amount to some ₱30,000,000.

Señor BARRETTO. Yes; but I have already stated yesterday that there were a great many governmental centers, Offices, and Bureaus that are entirely useless and very costly. I think we can save much money by their abolition. Now, I have not the list of those Bureaus with me, but I mentioned them yesterday.

Representative PAYNE. But the whole business would not amount to over ₱1,000,000 if you cut off every expenditure which might be dispensed with.

Señor BARRETTO. Figures have been presented here which demonstrated that the Spanish insular government was run at an expense of ₱4,000,000, while the present Government costs, I believe, ₱16,000,000.

Representative PAYNE. Well, does he want to cut off the schools and things of that kind and run it on the Spanish basis?

Señor BARRETTO. But the Spanish budget also contained an appropriation for education. I shall explain to you why education was not successful under the Spanish system.

Representative PAYNE. Was it not because they did not appropriate money enough?

Señor BARRETTO. Under the Spanish Government there was a public-school teacher in all the pueblos of the Archipelago, and if the education was not carried on successfully by those teachers it was on account of the interference of certain elements in this

country who opposed the education of the Filipino people. [Applause from Filipinos in the audience.]

Representative PAYNE. What elements were these?

Señor BARRETTO. Well, I do not wish to wound the feelings of anybody, but in the public conscience of the Filipinos and in the history of the Philippine Islands you can find out what those elements were.

Representative PAYNE. Does he not think it proper for him to name them?

Señor BARRETTO. I think it is unnecessary for me to point out exactly what those elements were. I think that the Congressman himself and all those here present have a perfect knowledge of what that element was.

Representative PAYNE. Can you state what the Spanish Government appropriated in any one year for education?

Señor BARRETTO. It is true that in the general appropriation the amount appropriated was very much less than under our present Insular Government, but it must be borne in mind that——

Representative PAYNE. But that does not answer my question; I want to know how much the Spanish Government appropriated for educational purposes.

Señor BARRETTO. Well, the local funds they appropriated for this purpose amounted to ₱1,800,000.

Representative PAYNE. But is not that an addition to the sum he just stated as being carried on the roll of the Spanish central government, which amount he has just stated was ₱4,000,000?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; that is in addition to that.

Representative PAYNE. Well, of course I can not waste time here going into other items. Governor Ide made a statement the other day making a comparison of the Spanish expenditures and American expenditures; ask him if he has seen that statement.

Señor BARRETTO. No, sir; I have not seen it.

Representative PAYNE. I want to ask another question. Does this scheme of government of yours contemplate an army or navy?

Señor BARRETTO. Of course, the idea of independence necessarily involves the maintenance of an army and navy. I know that a navy can not be gotten together in a short period of time; but it is precisely for the reason that we understand that it takes time to get an army and navy that we have asked the people of the United States to fix the period for our independence, in order that during

that period of time we may prepare ourselves for the army and navy.

Representative PAYNE. Do you not demand immediate independence?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; but we have asked an immediate independence with a declaration of perpetual neutrality toward these Islands by all the powers of the world.

Representative PAYNE. But suppose you can not get that.

Señor BARRETTO. Well, it is for that reason that we have asked for free trade with all the great countries of the world. We know that if all the great powers have interests in these Islands, these Islands, if independent, would be considered neutral ground.

Representative PAYNE. Does he not want independence until he can get a treaty assuring neutrality from all the great powers?

Señor BARRETTO. Of course in asking for independence we want an independence that will be practical. We do not want one that is founded upon dreams or upon mere air; and it is our opinion that all the great nations of the world, desiring to have a market among our people, inasmuch as the modern colonial policy of all the great powers to-day is simply to furnish a market for their goods, I believe that all the great European and American nations, wishing to have a market for their goods here, would prevent the Islands falling into the hands of any particular nation and would therefore guarantee our integrity.

Representative PAYNE. Well, you have repeated that a number of times. I would like to have my question answered as to whether you want immediate independence before you can get this treaty of neutrality from all the powers.

Señor BARRETTO. (After consulting with a bystander.) No, sir; that is not our desire.

Representative PAYNE. Well, now, to go back to the army and navy, do you want to commence now with the organization of an army and navy if you can be sure of independence?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; of course.

Representative PAYNE. That will involve a very large expense the first year, and the expense will increase every year. Where will you raise the money?

Señor BARRETTO. Well, if we were assured that our independence would be respected by the great powers of the world, then there would fall into our hands all those sources of income that are

necessary for a government to have in order to maintain a standing army and navy. Under present conditions, of course, it would be impossible for us to begin to have either an army or navy, because we have no source of revenue. What we desire, then, is this, that our immediate independence be declared, and that this declaration be accompanied by a declaration by the powers of the world that they will respect our independence.

Representative PAYNE. In other words, you desire the United States Government to stand behind your independent government?

Señor BARRETTO. Well, I have simply made my statements and formulated my theories; if you have made that inference I have nothing to say. Perhaps it is the correct conclusion. [Laughter.]

Representative PAYNE. Then he wants us to become responsible and turn the Islands over to them to experiment with?

Señor BARRETTO. We do not demand responsibility from the United States; we simply ask it to discharge the responsibilities which it assumed before the entire world in taking charge of these Islands; and we will say that if it does not give us this support as it has promised, then we shall do everything in our power to fight our own battles. [Applause by certain Filipinos.]

Representative HEPBURN. I think it is wise to admonish these gentlemen that we do not care about their applause. We have given them an opportunity to be heard here, but we desire them to keep quiet.

Senator NEWLANDS. Mr. Chairman, I would like to make one suggestion, and that is, that we are here as a conquering people and that we have invited the conquered people to submit their views as to existing conditions and their hopes of the future; I think that it is incumbent upon us not to forget that we are superior in force and also in power of mind, and that the conquered people should not surpass us in courtesy.

Representative PAYNE. Then that is the final scheme of the speaker—he would go it alone if the United States will not help them?

Señor BARRETTO. I do not wish to doubt the moral support of the United States; but I merely wish to state that if we did not get that support that the instincts of self-preservation would lead us to fight for our own lives.

Representative PAYNE. Then you think the United States would

be willing to stand behind and support such a government as you have outlined here if it were intrusted to such men as yourself?

SEÑOR BARRETTO. I do not wish to have it understood that we present ourselves as the men who are to guide the future destinies of our people under independence. We came here as interpreters of the aspirations of the Filipino people for independence. There are in Europe and in foreign countries, and in this country as well, many Filipinos who are more worthy than ourselves, who are perhaps the most humble of all the Filipinos; nor are we so egotistical as to think that we have all the elements here at hand in this country to form such an independent government. We will gladly avail ourselves of foreign elements that may be necessary to aid us in our government, exactly the same as the Japanese have done. They have invited and profited by foreign elements that have gone into their country and led them along the path of progress.

SENATOR NEWLANDS. Mr. Chairman, I understood from one of the members of the party that two of the gentlemen who appeared yesterday were either under indictment or conviction for offenses against the law; and I have no doubt that if this is so, when we return to America and this matter is debated in the Congress of the United States, the records of these indictments and convictions will be presented and they will be, of course, a matter of proper consideration as to the value of the suggestions of the gentlemen who have appeared before us. But it seems to me only fair that while these gentlemen are before us they should be confronted with the fact and asked whether or not they are under indictment or conviction and what the nature of the public offenses are with which they are charged. I therefore move that these gentlemen, whose names I do not remember, but I believe one of them is Dr. Gomez, be asked to appear and to answer questions regarding their indictment for public offenses.

REPRESENTATIVE HEPBURN. Well, does this committee resolve itself into a court for the purpose of retrial, or are we acting in the capacity of a supreme court to review the cases on appeal? Do you want to take up the time of this committee here in going over those cases?

SENATOR NEWLANDS. I think it is entirely proper, inasmuch as the questions of these indictments will probably be presented to the Congress of the United States as affecting the credibility of these

witnesses and the value of their suggestions, that these men should be confronted with these statements.

Representative COOPER. I would like to make one suggestion only, with reference to the statement of the Senator from Nevada. He said that the fact that an indictment might be used in the United States to attack these witnesses' credibility rendered it advisable to discuss this matter here. I would like to call his attention to the fact that the law in the United States is exactly to the contrary; that a man is never guilty until he is proven so; and that the court always instructs a jury to that effect. Furthermore, if anyone should mention the fact that a man had been indicted, the reply could be made that he was not proven guilty. However, a conviction is an entirely different thing, and it should be limited to that.

Senator NEWLANDS. I think that the statement made by Representative Cooper is correct as to the law, but we are not dealing with the law but with public opinion. Indictments against individuals are portentous in the formation of an opinion as to the character of a man who presents himself in a statement to the public. I have no doubt that these indictments will be presented there, and ought to be presented there, and I therefore suggest that these men be questioned here.

Representative COOPER. Well, suppose a man should arise in the Congress of the United States and say that John Smith was indicted in the Philippines and that he appeared before this committee and presented his complete defense; the question would then be asked, Did you hear the witnesses? The reply would be, No. In what condition would that leave us; it would leave us in the condition of having heard one side of the case and not the other. Therefore, I move that our inquiries be limited to the question of conviction.

Senator NEWLANDS. Very well, I accept that.

The CHAIRMAN. Before this gentleman leaves the floor, I would like to ask him if he ever held an office under the Spanish Government?

Señor BARRETTO. Yes, sir; I held public office under the Spanish Government and under the present Government.

The CHAIRMAN. That is all.

Senator NEWLANDS. Now, Dr. Gomez, have you ever been indicted and under that indictment convicted of any offense against the laws of the Philippine Islands?

Dr. DOMINADOR GOMEZ. I have been indicted, but I have not been convicted.

Senator NEWLANDS. Have you had a trial?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir; I was tried in the Court of First Instance here. The sentence of that court was against me, but I appealed from that sentence and it is not yet effective.

Senator NEWLANDS. For what crime were you sentenced?

Dr. GOMEZ. I was indicted and tried for having established, maintained, and operated an illegal association known as the "Union Obrera" (labor union). I was also accused of "bandolerismo" (or brigandage); I was also accused of "estafa."

Senator NEWLANDS. What is that? What do you mean by "estafa"?

Dr. GOMEZ. "Estafa" is the taking of money under false pretense and by means of fraud; it involves all those things under the Spanish law. I was also accused of malversation of funds. All these accusations were dated May 29, 1903.

Senator NEWLANDS. Were you found guilty of all these offenses; and if not, upon what offenses were you found guilty?

Dr. GOMEZ. There is another indictment against me; I have not finished yet. On September 24, 1903, I was also indicted for conspiracy, rebellion, treason, and sedition.

Senator NEWLANDS. Have you been tried under that indictment?

Dr. GOMEZ. The first case against me has been tried, which was that of organizing and conducting an illegal association; I was tried by Judge Sweeney and found guilty.

Senator NEWLANDS. Were you found guilty of all the charges or only some of them?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir; I was found guilty of all the charges under the indictment for conducting an illegal association, but I wish to state that the two assessors who sat with the judge handed down a dissenting opinion, and also that both of these gentlemen were lawyers.

Senator NEWLANDS. What was the sentence?

Dr. GOMEZ. The sentence of the court ends up by saying that the court does sentence me to four years and two months, imprisonment at hard labor and a fine of 3,250 pesetas.

Senator NEWLANDS. Have any other gentlemen who appeared yesterday been indicted or convicted before the law?

Dr. GOMEZ. Dr. Justo Lukban, who spoke here yesterday, was not

found guilty of the indictment for conspiracy, an indictment which was subordinate to the main indictment against me and which indictment involved the three Lukban brothers, for the reason that he was not present in the Islands. The indictment was against all three of the Lukban brothers, and the two of them who were in the Islands were tried and found guilty. At that time Dr. Justo Lukban was outside the jurisdiction of the Philippine Islands, but he has now come here to have the pleasure of greeting the gentlemen of this delegation, and has presented himself to the prosecuting attorney under the indictment. I may state further that the two Lukban brothers have appealed from the sentence of the Court of First Instance. I also wish to state that after a trial of six months and some days upon the charge of conspiracy I was found not guilty by Judge Ambler of the Court of First Instance.

The CHAIRMAN. If the gentleman who was first upon the floor yesterday is present, I have a question or two I should like to ask him. I should like to inquire as to whether parts of Pangasinan, Tarlac, and Zambales Provinces were not in revolt against the Malolos government in November, 1898, and if Aguinaldo did not send armed forces to put down these revolts against his authority.

Señor VICENTE ILUSTRE. I can not say that it could have been considered as a revolt. It was not a revolt; it was a sect that was in opposition to Aguinaldo. So far as the Province of Tarlac is concerned, Aguinaldo had his government established there for some time and met with no difficulty at all. The sect to which I refer was a religious sect which existed prior to the organization of the Filipino government and which has not yet ceased to exist. It is a sect that has always been in opposition to all the governments in the Philippine Islands.

The CHAIRMAN. How many of the members of the Malolos congress were Tagalogs? Were not at least 80 out of 110 of them Tagalogs and residents of Manila?

Señor ILUSTRE. In answering that question, I wish to say that I was outside of the Philippine Islands when the revolutionary government was organized, and therefore I can not answer that question with certainty. In the second place, I wish to state that the study I have made of the question has not led me to investigate whether they were Tagalogs, Bicolos, or represented any other part of the Archipelago. I merely knew that they were Filipinos; all I can say is that it was my understanding that every province

in the Islands was represented, but I can give no information as to the residence of the different delegates.

The CHAIRMAN. It is mere guesswork with you, then?

Señor ILUSTRE. I have already stated that I was outside of the Philippine Islands at that time; I have not investigated that question.

The CHAIRMAN. Were not the great majority of these 110 men nominated by Aguinaldo and not elected? Were not those who were called elected members really chosen in elections held at Aguinaldo's headquarters in Cavite and Malolos?

Señor ILUSTRE. It is true that the majority were appointed by Aguinaldo and not elected, because there were no means at that time of electing them. Aguinaldo appointed those men because he did not want those provinces in which disturbances existed to be without representation.

The CHAIRMAN. Can he show the document wherein he says the Moros promised to recognize the Malolos government? As a matter of fact, did he ever see it, and is it not a fact that he simply said that Mabini had such assurance?

Señor ILUSTRE. The answer is that I myself have a letter from the revolutionary general in Misamis Province—I believe it was General Deloso—who assured me that he had the support of the Moros in that district.

The CHAIRMAN. Then we are to understand from the arguments yesterday that it is virtually all hearsay and not by any personal knowledge of yourself?

Señor ILUSTRE. It is true that no Moro ever came to Hongkong, but I wish to state that General Deloso assured me that the Moros supported us. He was down there in their country.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is mere hearsay, then?

Señor ILUSTRE. Yes, sir.

Representative HEPBURN. Mr. Chairman, I think we had better take a recess until 1.30 this afternoon.

Representative COOPER. We can not get back here by that time.

Representative HEPBURN. Well, say, 2 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. There is a gentleman here who wants to speak for five minutes; I do not know who he is.

Representative COOPER. Mr. Chairman, I move that these gentlemen be given to a quarter of 1 o'clock, if they wish to occupy that much time, and that then we call the public hearings closed.

The CHAIRMAN. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion. Those

in favor respond by saying "aye" [a pause], and those opposed by saying "no." [A pause.] The "ayes" have it, and we will now hear the gentleman who wanted to address us for five minutes.

SEÑOR JOSE VILLANUEVA, of Batangas. I desire to speak purely from a personal standpoint and only ask for a few minutes of your time. However, I would state that had the honorable members of the delegation visited the Province of Batangas they would have heard me speak there for the people of Batangas, inasmuch as I was one of the speakers selected; so that I am sure that if the municipal president of Batangas had known that I was to be present here in Manila he would have invested me with the authority to speak for that town. Circumstances have brought me to Manila, and I am very glad to avail myself of this opportunity to present the feelings of the people of Batangas with regard to certain matters. In the first place, I wish to convey to the Congress of the United States the profound gratitude of the people of the Province of Batangas for that gift of \$3,000,000, gold, which the Congress made for the relief of the people of the Philippine Islands, a considerable part of which went to the people of Batangas, inasmuch as they received 22,000 sacks of rice, valued at about \$100,000, gold. It was only by means of this relief that the people of Batangas were able to recover from the sad condition in which they had fallen as a result of the war.

The people of Batangas, however, do not desire to ask any further relief measures from the Congress of the United States; at least, any measures of this character. We believe that we have sufficient strength and energy and sufficient activity now to work out our own prosperity in future, and all that we ask is the support of the honorable gentlemen of Congress. We believe that the barriers that have been created at the custom-houses in the Philippine Islands against the introduction of agricultural machinery and tools into these Islands prevent us from realizing our hopes of developing the agriculture of our province. Furthermore, I would petition the honorable members of Congress that they consider as the most important problem to solve in the Philippine Islands that of agriculture, and do ask that the Congress of the United States extend the fullest protection to the agriculture of these Islands. I would also ask for more schools, not necessarily for the dissemination of book knowledge, but for the purpose of teaching the people the principles upon which agriculture should be carried on, with a view to improving the rudimentary practices

now used in these Islands. I can assure the gentlemen of Congress that every effort they will make to forward the agriculture of the Islands, and especially of Batangas, will be duly appreciated by the people of that province, and that their good works will bear fruit. I would also extend a very cordial invitation to the gentlemen to again visit the Islands, when our schools and our agriculture shall be in a more prosperous condition, for I think that when that time comes it will be much more opportune to discuss independence or politics. I would desire that the gentlemen representing the American people and the members of the great Congress of the United States who are here should take away with them as the deepest impression of their visit here the great and earnest desire of the Filipino people that the Congress of the United States do everything possible to assist us in developing and rehabilitating our agricultural resources.

Representative WILEY. I would like to ask Dr. Gomez a question. Is it not a fact that he was an officer belonging to the medical department of the Spanish army at the time of the insurrection of the Filipinos against the Spanish Government?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir.

Representative WILEY. Was he not also an officer in the army on the occasion of the disturbances between the Filipinos and the United States Government?

Dr. GOMEZ. What army?

Representative WILEY. The Filipino insurgent army.

Dr. GOMEZ. I was in Spain then.

Representative DRISCOLL. Well, he must have been in the Spanish army then.

Dr. GOMEZ. There are certain students from the town of Lipa, in the Province of Batangas, who desire through me to file a protest here.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, they can file the protest, but we have no time to hear them orally.

Dr. GOMEZ. It is an oral protest, because it is a refutation of the statements made by the governor of Rizal this morning.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the pleasure of the delegation that we call and recall witnesses? I understand the other two governors are here now, and if you care to hear them there are about forty minutes of time now left.

Representative JONES. Mr. Chairman, I move that these petitioners be given ten minutes to reply as they wish.

Senator NEWLANDS. And then that the two governors be heard.

The CHAIRMAN. Is it the pleasure of the delegation to hear these gentlemen?

Representative COOPER. Well, we have only twenty-five minutes; we have not forty minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, that is right; I made a mistake.

Representative JONES. Well, I amend my suggestion, then, so as to give them eight minutes, and give the governors the rest of the time.

The CHAIRMAN. Let Dr. Gomez state who these students are.

Dr. GOMEZ. These young men behind me are the students from the town of Lipa to whom I refer. Mr. Katigbac is at the head of them and can give their names. The governor of Rizal Province, as well as Governor Tecson, did not owe their office to popular vote—that is to say, in the first instance; they were originally appointed, like many of the governors who were afterwards retained in office by popular vote, owing to the influence displayed by officials high in office. Everybody knows that on the occasion of an election for a provincial governor, and for a few days before that time, the councilors who elect the governors do not enjoy complete liberty of action.

(Note: This statement is incorrect as to Governor Tecson, who was elected in the first instance. Governor Dancel was appointed to fill a vacancy and was afterwards elected to succeed himself.)

Senator NEWLANDS. Mr. Chairman, may I make an inquiry? I understood that we were to hear from some students.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, and the students speak Spanish; let them take the floor. What has this man got to do with it?

Representative HEPBURN. Were you a member of the Spanish army engaged in the Cuban campaign?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir; I was in the Cuban campaign.

Representative HEPBURN. Were you not there fighting against the independence of Cuba—fighting against independence?

Dr. GOMEZ. No, sir.

Representative HEPBURN. Well, what were you doing there as a part of the Spanish army in 1898 and prior to that time?

Dr. GOMEZ. The section of the Spanish army to which I belonged was a branch that did not carry arms, but which devoted its entire time and attention to caring for the sick and wounded of both parties.

Representative HEPBURN. You were there as a Spaniard, were you not?

Dr. GOMEZ. Yes, sir; that was my nationality.

Representative HEPBURN. Then you have fought against the United States in three wars and under three nationalities?

Dr. GOMEZ. I have already said that I did not fight against independence, and that I belonged to an auxiliary corps that was not armed.

Senator NEWLANDS. Well, how about those students who want to be heard?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, as regards those students; let these young men speak for themselves; they speak Spanish and it can be interpreted. How do we know that we are hearing from Gomez what they want to say?

(Señor Isabelo Katigbac, of Lipa, Batangas, medical student in Manila, was then recognized.)

Señor KATIGBAC. The feelings of the students from the town of Lipa and of the students in the Philippine Islands generally have been deeply wounded by the remarks made here this morning in the course of the testimony given by the provincial governor of Rizal, Mr. Dancel, who said that twenty years was not enough time in which to fit the Filipino people for self-government. I merely wish to say that there are many intelligent and capable men in the Philippine Islands who are resident in the Archipelago and are able to carry on the government.

The CHAIRMAN. Governor Guzman is now here and is recognized. I would like to have him state his name and position.

Governor GUZMAN. Pablo Guzman; governor of the Province of Cagayan. I have no address prepared, but I am willing to answer any questions which you may direct to me.

The CHAIRMAN. How many times have you been elected?

Governor GUZMAN. I am now on my first term.

Senator NEWLANDS. By what majority of votes were you elected?

Governor GUZMAN. I had 95 votes and the next candidate had 50.

Representative HEPBURN. What are the sentiments of the people of your province on the question of the immediate independence of the Islands?

Governor GUZMAN. Of course I can say that the aspiration of the entire people of my province is for ultimate independence, but not for immediate independence.

Representative HEPBURN. Well, what time do you fix in your mind as to the date when that aspiration will be realized?

Governor GUZMAN. It is very difficult to fix such a date; but it is my personal opinion that within ten or twelve years the people will be ready.

The CHAIRMAN. If there are no further questions, that is all, Governor.

(The following memorial, printed in pamphlet form in both English and Spanish, was presented to the meeting and distributed among the delegation:)

PETITION OF THE COMMITTEE OF PHILIPPINE INTERESTS.

PURPOSES OF THE COMMITTEE.

The committee of Philippine interests, established toward the close of last year (1904), was organized for the purposes and intentions laid down in its constitution and by-laws, a copy of which accompanies this petition. This committee has established, up to the present, provincial and municipal subcommittees in different sections of the Philippines, as Bulacan, Pampanga, Tarlac, Laguna, Rizal, Tayabas, Cagayan, Bohol, Cebu, Leyte, Negros, etc. Its object is attained mainly by means of popular lectures of an educational character for the masses concerning those topics which are included within its programme.

This association is convinced that the honorable members of the Taft party have come to the Philippines with the intention of obtaining information relative to the actual condition of the country. Most assuredly they will not refuse to hear those suggestions which may be made to them concerning the object of their visit to these Islands in order that this visit may fulfill the purposes underlying it and result beneficially to the Philippines and their inhabitants. Under those conditions the committee of Philippine interests desires to aid the Commission in its noble effort, in order to make generally known to the high representatives as well as the good people of the United States of America and diffuse among them an understanding of the facts concerning our country.

ACTUAL CONDITIONS.

Since the American occupation of 1898 general progress has been necessarily slow, owing to the changed conditions and the disturbances which followed thereupon, the present prostration being the effect of war and pestilence among men and beasts of burden. The prostration has attained such proportions that it is the need most deeply felt by everybody. Neither existing laws nor good intentions on the part of officials or private individuals suffice to meet the urgent needs of the economic crisis.

It is necessary to refer at this point to the excellent intentions manifested as well by President McKinley in his instructions to the second American Commission as by the efforts put forth by the legislators of the mother country with a view to obtaining legislation which will be just to these

Islands. All of this has not been able to produce the results expected, because the country has passed through abnormal conditions which tended to impede them.

We therefore respectfully submit the following:

TRANSITORY MEASURES.

Dingley tariff.—Abolition of the duties on sugar and tobacco exported to the United States, or at least a reduction to 25 per cent. The small output and the necessarily slow development of our producing capacity combine to make this of no peril to American interests. With proper facilities in this market it is highly probable that these products will meet with greatest demand in the Asiatic and European markets, which would be of direct benefit to us. It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments and statistics which experts in the matter have presented to the point of satiety.

The Frye bill.—Its revocation. It has already been made plainly manifest that this bill would create a monopoly prejudicial to the Philippine products, making, among other things, entirely illusory any benefit which might accrue from a tariff reduction, or, if the present duties continue to be enforced, all trade would be made impossible. And this apart from the subsidies to certain persons also part of, and authorized by, the Frye bill.

Philippine assembly.—Reformation of the act of July 1, 1902, section 7, in the direction of establishing said legislative assembly prior to the period of two years therein provided, reducing the preliminaries thereto. The general prevalence of the peace allows of anticipating the date set, and there exist to-day no symptoms whatever of a possible insurrection. The untoward conditions which now are felt would either entirely disappear or be strictly limited by this means; and even should, at the time of establishment thereof, any disorders exist, which it is out of the question that they be great under existing conditions—such disorders would lose all grounds for existence or moral force. The transcendental legal and economic problems now pending, aside from the discussion of the taxes, combine to urge that a body representative of the country be convoked.

Railroads and public lands.—Suspension of concession for railroads or of sale to corporations of public lands, until those matters can be brought to a hearing before the representatives of the people through the Philippine assembly. These matters are of too transcendental effect upon the future and on the social conditions of these Islands that they ought to be acted on without intervention of the representatives thereof. America can not be willing that the sacred future prospects of these Islands be pledged to anyone without the express consent of their people.

Separation of powers.—The legislative power at present is exercised by the functionaries of the executive power. We suggest that the Philippine bill (Act of Congress of July 1, 1902) be amended to the end that the executive duties be carried on by one set of persons and the legislative by another.

ASPIRATIONS OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

The general desire of the Filipino people is to possess independent national existence as soon as possible.

We earnestly request that the honorable Taft Commission accept this declaration and present it before Congress and the people of the United States of America. Our people expect that the Senate and House of Representatives make an express declaration to this effect, as understanding this to be the cornerstone of the administration of the Philippines, and that alone on such a basis is a stable, secure, well-defined governmental policy possible. The measures proposed are to be understood as of transitory character, subject to this condition.

To assure this independence, either the Philippine Islands may be declared neutral territory or also be placed under a protectorate of the United States. For the former, once the intention of the United States to concede the same becomes known, all friendly nations will not fail to join such an agreement.

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION.

We earnestly suggest the following recommendations to the officials of the Philippine administration:

(a) Exemption from all duties of agricultural machinery, tools, and fertilizers, all of which tend to improve and stimulate agriculture.

(b) Reduction of the forestry charges in order to permit of our native woods being able to compete with foreign lumber.

(c) Reduction also of the internal-revenue tax in so far as the tobacco and alcohol industries are concerned.

(d) Suspension for a period of five years of the land tax, or for such time as may be found necessary for the landowners to recover from their recent losses.

(e) Continuation of Spanish as the official language for twenty years.

(f) Limitation of the powers of the Constabulary to those of a purely police character. Careful selection of its personnel and energetic and immediate repression of all lack of discipline or abuses.

(g) Permanence of judicial assignments. Their designation to be on proposal of the Supreme Court of the Islands.

(h) Economical administration in personnel and material for at least such time until the country is able to support higher taxes.

(i) Equality of salaries among officials who do the same identical work.

(j) Larger participation in the Government by Filipinos, especially in positions of greater responsibility.

Very respectfully,

Enrique Mendiola, president of central committee; Santiago Barcelona, treasurer; F. M. de Guerrero, secretary; Martin Ocampo, member; Raf. Palma, member; Lope K. Santos, member; Teodoro Sandiko, member; Gregorio Pineda, member; Jaime C. de Veyra, proposed commissioner for America; Sofronio G. Calderon, president local committee, Santa Ana; Luciano de la Rosa, president local committee, Paco; J. T. Santiago y A., president local committee, Trozo; Catalin Sevilla, president local committee, San Nicolas; Honorato Agrava, president local committee, Malate; Marlin Garcin, president local committee, San Miguel.

Señor ENRIQUE MENDIOLA. I would like to be heard for a few minutes.

The CHAIRMAN. Please give your name and state whom you represent.

Señor MENDIOLA. My name is Enrique Mendiola; I am president of the committee of the Philippines interests, which has submitted a memorial to the delegation present. Fearing that the opinion of the high representatives of the American people who have honored us with a visit may be led astray by the influence of the provincial governors as expressed here this morning, I, as the representative of a social, economic organization, believe it is my duty to present a representation of the true aspiration of the Filipino people in general. I wish to say, with all deference to the personal opinions of the provincial governors that they have expressed here this morning, that these gentlemen have been elected by the people of their different provinces to govern them, but they have not been elected, nor have they been charged with the duty of representing to this honorable committee the aspirations of the people of their provinces, nor do I know of a single document that will show that they have a right to speak in behalf of them.

Representative HEPBURN. Will the gentleman please state whether or not he has been elected to represent them?

Señor MENDIOLA. No, sir; I have not been elected by the Filipino people to represent them here, but I am the representative of an organization which has branches in nearly every part of the Islands, as may be seen from the printed memorial presented to the delegation.

Representative HEPBURN. What is the entire membership of this society?

Señor MENDIOLA. I can not make an estimate of the entire membership of the organization, but I can refer you to the printed memorial, which shows you that there are committees of the organization in nearly all of the provinces of the Islands. Each one of these committees has probably an average of about 100 members; some of them have 500. Hence, by using the number of committees shown in the memorial, you can get at the approximate membership.

Representative HEPBURN. Are there 10,000 members in all?

Señor MENDIOLA. Probably about that, more or less.

Senator WARREN. I understood the gentleman to state that the

governors were not elected to appear before the committee. Of course that goes without saying, for it was not known that this committee would be here when they were elected. In that connection, I would like to ask him a direct question. Does he charge that the governors of the provinces are misrepresenting their provinces before this committee? And if so, why?

Señor MENDIOLA. All I wished to say was that I had inferred from the line of questions to which the provincial governors had been subjected that the purpose of this delegation was to test the amount of popular representation that these provincial governors brought with them; they wanted to find out how far the governors represented the people of their provinces. Now, in this connection I wish to point out the fact that in the memorials which have been presented to this delegation by popular representatives, petitions have been made which are exactly contrary to the petitions made by the provincial governors this morning. This would go to show that the provincial governors are not reflecting popular opinion, and I ask this delegation to consider that the opinions expressed by the provincial governors are merely personal and are not representative.

The CHAIRMAN. The time is up and two minutes past; what is the pleasure of the committee?

Senator NEWLANDS. I move that we adjourn until 4 p. m. this afternoon, when we shall meet in executive session with the Commission.

(The motion was carried, and the meeting adjourned in pursuance thereof.)

MINUTES OF A SESSION HELD WITH THE PHILIPPINE COMMISSION
AT MANILA ON AUGUST 30, 1905.

MANILA, *August 30, 1905.*

(The meeting was called to order at 4 o'clock, pursuant to adjournment. By unanimous consent, Representative Payne took the chair.)

Representative PAYNE. Governor Wright, while we are waiting for the Chief Justice, who I understand is to be present this afternoon, I would like to ask some questions about the ice plant and some other matters.

Governor WRIGHT. Very well.

Representative PAYNE. I would like to ask Judge Ide a few questions about the ice plant, about the convenience it affords, the reason for it, and the general results.

Vice-Governor IDE. The Insular Cold Storage and Ice Plant, which is maintained by the Philippine Government, was determined upon by the War Department as a war measure before this Commission ever came to these Islands. President McKinley told me the day I was appointed that there was an ice plant over here, nearing completion, that would furnish facilities for all Americans living in and about Manila. As a matter of fact, it was very far from nearing completion at that time, and was not completed until long afterwards; however, it was under way. The plant was paid for out of Insular funds—out of our own moneys—its construction being managed and directed by the military authorities. The prime necessity for it was that we had from 30,000 to 60,000 American troops here in the Islands and that the Army had to keep large supplies of meat and other food stuffs with which to feed the soldiers. They had previously been kept in the bay on refrigerator ships at great expense. There was no ice or cold-storage plant here except one very small one, which was entirely inadequate to meet the needs of the occasion. There was very great difficulty also in obtaining ice for hospitals and for sick

people, which was very important at that time, as well as at the present. The plant was therefore constructed to furnish ice and cold storage for the Army, for hospitals and sick people, and for people who did not want to be sick—that is, to enable people to live in a better way in the Tropics and to live as they were accustomed to do, being accustomed to the use of ice at home. The plant cost, in round numbers, about \$700,000, gold, aside from the land. This entire cost was paid for out of Insular funds. The land upon which it was constructed was already public property.

Upon the final organization of the Civil Government, when it became the duty of the Commission to make appropriations, the question arose as to the administration of that plant, and we proposed that the Army take it over and pay us for it; but instead of that course being adopted, Secretary Root directed that the Civil Government should take it over and administer it and make contracts with the Army upon such terms as might be agreed upon. That was eventually done and it has been administered by the Civil Government ever since—in fact, ever since its completion. The results of the operation have been that we made about \$120,000, gold, in profits above expenses and repairs the first year, and about \$133,000 the second year; about \$130,000 the next year, if I remember right, and last year about \$182,000.

Senator WARREN. That is not counting interest on the plant or depreciation?

Vice-Governor IDE. No, sir.

Senator SCOTT. How much did you say you had cleared last year?

Vice-Governor IDE. I believe the figures were \$182,000; that represents the excess of total revenues over total expenses.

Senator WARREN. In other words, you did not charge off interest on the money or depreciation?

Vice-Governor IDE. No; but we took out repairs and renewals; nothing is charged to additional construction. The plant has earned during the four years it has been operated over a million pesos, so you see that it is nearly three-fourths paid for already, and in another year, in case no unforeseen accident occurs, we will have the plant on hand.

Senator WARREN. I believe your late contracts with the Army are at a lower price?

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, we have had considerable talk with the

Army this year about the contract, and I proceeded upon the theory that the plant ought to produce a certain income; that it was constructed for the use of the military authorities, and that if they reduced the space which they occupied for cold storage, they should pay us a little more per cubic foot. They had paid us $3\frac{1}{2}$ cents per cubic foot per month, but this fiscal year, under the new contract, they pay us 4 cents per month.

Under this new arrangement the total amount we shall receive will be \$25,000 less, in round numbers, than was formerly obtained from them. We expect, however, to make it up on the outside. The month of July, 1905, showed a larger earning than the month of July, 1904, notwithstanding the reduced rates from the Army, because there are outside people who have been making use of the cold storage; and also our ice sales are increasing. The ice habit is like the opium habit—it grows, and hence our revenues are constantly increasing.

Senator NEWLANDS. You are proposing to sell this ice plant, I believe?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; for \$1,000,000, gold.

Senator NEWLANDS. I can understand, of course, the objection to holding on to it, as it may be regarded as a private enterprise; but do you not think that in this climate the making of ice may be regarded as a public utility, such as the furnishing of water and electric light is regarded in our municipalities in the United States?

Vice-Governor IDE. I think the argument is very strong; yes, sir.

Senator WARREN. Is it not fully as strong as in the other cases?

Vice-Governor IDE. Perhaps so.

Senator NEWLANDS. Do you regard it as a good proposition, then, when you are earning 18 per cent of the price fixed for the plant, to turn it into money that will yield only 5 per cent upon the amount invested?

Vice-Governor IDE. No, sir; I do not, and if I owned the Philippine Government as an individual I would not sell the ice plant for that figure. I would continue to operate it. The only argument I have ever known for the sale of the plant is that it is a Government institution that can be pointed out as interfering with private enterprises. Now, a word upon that subject. The ice we sell to the Government employees and the Army and to Army officers and to hospitals we sell at half a cent, gold, per pound, delivered, so that as to our civil employees and employees of the Government

generally and to hospitals we do sell at a less price than does the private establishment, because we intended to make it a Government institution for the benefit of the employees. But as to the outside public we did not intend to compete at all, and we sell to the outside people at the same price as the private factory—that is, 1 cent, gold, per pound—but we do not deliver it; persons desiring to buy from us have to go to the factory for it. As the other people deliver their ice, it would seem that the public would not go to the Government plant unless they got very short weight from the private concern or got very poor ice. That regulation was made in order to prevent our competing with the private concern. As to cold storage, when the Army began to diminish the space required for cold storage we had considerable space left; and the utilization of that space was a matter of some importance, of course. At that time the price of meat here was regulated by the one cold-storage establishment which we had. They had a monopoly of the business. There was no other concern in the city and no other method of getting meat except the small and unsatisfactory amount received from local slaughter. The price of meat was from 50 to 60 centavos per pound. Later on an American firm went into the business of importing meat supplies, vegetables, fruit, and other perishable products, and, wishing to enlarge their business, they asked us to furnish them some facilities. We furnished them facilities in the way of cold storage. We rented them space, and the result has been that the price of meat has gone down from 50 to 60 centavos per pound to about 35 centavos, and the general public, of course, has received the benefit of that free competition. If we had refused to furnish them cold-storage space, it is true that one concern in the city of Manila would have been benefited; under the system adopted every concern and individual in the city is benefited except that one establishment.

Representative COCHRAN. Why not keep the plant?

Vice-Governor IDE. That is just the proposition. The complaint is made that we are engaging in business that should be left to private enterprises. Of course the convenience which the institution affords should be considered.

Representative WILEY. But in the States many municipalities own waterworks, electric-light plants, etc., and do it for the general good, for the public welfare of the inhabitants.

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; public utilities, of course, are

very frequently owned by municipalities throughout the United States.

Representative WILEY. Yes; and it results in a great saving to the people.

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir.

Representative COCHRAN. Have you decided to sell it?

Vice-Governor IDE. No; we offered it for sale at \$1,000,000, gold, as the minimum price. The purchaser would of course be able to increase his sales very much because he would enter into competition with private concerns and increase his income. On the other hand, however, he would be subject to taxation both upon his sales and upon the real estate and improvements; the loss in annual revenue to us would be partly compensated by turning into taxable property property which now is not taxed.

Representative COCHRAN. Then, too, you have to consider depreciation, insurance, etc. However, I can see no objection to your engaging in the manufacture of such an article of public necessity here in the Tropics.

Vice-Governor IDE. Of course it is possible for a Government institution maintained without taxation to crush out a private enterprise. We do not like to be put in the attitude of exacting taxes from the people in a certain line of business and then going into the same business and selling the product at a lower price, which would injure such a firm.

Representative COCHRAN. There was an ice plant here before the Americans came?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; a small one.

Representative COCHRAN. Well, why not buy it out? I think it would be cheaper and better to buy out that establishment.

Vice-Governor IDE. I do not know that they want to sell.

Representative COCHRAN. But do you think that the personal interests of one such concern should weigh against those of the whole community in such an important and essential matter as the supply of ice in a tropical city like this?

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, I can not say as to that. I am not anxious to have the plant sold, but we have snakeheads coming up everywhere, and when we can eliminate some of them we like to do it.

Senator WARREN. What do you mean by snakeheads?

Vice-Governor IDE. I refer to the criticism that the Government is trying to kill a private concern.

Representative MCKINLEY, of Illinois. What was your revenue from the ice plant last year?

Vice-Governor IDE. There was a large reduction in the operating expenses last year and a large increase in the income. I have not the report at hand, but approximately the disbursements were ₱300,000, or \$150,000, gold, and the receipts were \$182,000, gold, more than that.

Representative MCKINLEY, of Illinois. How much of that did the United States Government pay?

Vice-Governor IDE. About \$125,000 for cold storage in rental; the amount received for ice I can not state without referring to the figures.

Representative MCKINLEY, of Illinois. Perhaps they paid two-thirds of this total revenue?

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, I would hardly say two-thirds of the total revenue. They will pay, say, about \$100,000, gold, for cold storage.

Representative PAYNE. I want to ask General Smith a similar question about the printing plant and Mr. Forbes a similar question about the commissary.

Senator NEWLANDS. Let me ask Judge Ide one question: Is it not a fact that one of the reasons why you propose to sell this plant is that you need the money for other purposes?

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, I can assent to the fact that we need the money for other purposes, but perhaps that motive has rested more strongly upon Secretary Taft's mind than upon my own, as I think we can get on without it.

Representative COOPER. Governor Ide, suppose you sell this plant to other parties and then they purchase the other plant; they would then have a complete monopoly. What power would you have to regulate them?

Vice-Governor IDE. No power, unless we could insert in our contract of sale such provisions as to prices as would prevail for a limited time and would give us a string upon them.

Representative COOPER. Is not this ice plant here in Manila a very different thing from an ice plant in the city of Chicago, for example? Here the health consideration is a very strong one.

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir.

Representative COOPER. Well, then the original objection which applies to the Government interfering with private enterprises such as this is not so applicable in this instance as in many others?

Vice-Governor IDE. No, sir; and then at home there is abundant private capital to enter into this kind of business and here there is not.

Representative COOPER. Yes; that is very true.

Vice-Governor IDE. I will now answer the question asked before in regard to receipts and expenditures. I now have the figures. During the fiscal year 1905 the total revenues of the ice plant were ₦706,356.37, while the total expenses for the fiscal year 1905 were ₦308,385.11; the net earnings were ₦397,971.26. That makes a little more than I stated before. The statement previously furnished me was that the net earnings were \$182,000, gold, which is less than it appears in this statement.

Representative GILLET. You sell at a less price to officials of the Army than to the public?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; we sell at half price to the Army and civil employees, hospitals, and things of that kind. It was necessary to furnish our employees such inducements as to health, etc., as would keep them here in the service.

Representative OTJEN. The plant also furnishes distilled water, does it not, and is not that very necessary?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; there is an artesian well in the plant and the water is drawn from that for the purposes of the plant; it is used in the manufacture of the ice. The plant also sells distilled water.

Representative OTJEN. And that is purchased by the people. It seems to me a very important consideration in case of epidemics such as you have here now.

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Let us now hear from General Smith.

Commissioner SMITH. I have here the value of the product of the Public Printing Plant and the cost of production. From July 1, 1903, to June 30, 1904, the total product of the Bureau of Public Printing was valued at \$283,913.84; and the total expenses for salaries, wages, printing paper, supplies, and miscellaneous items amounted to \$195,435.92; or an excess of the value of the product over the cost of production amounting to \$88,477.92. The purchase price value of equipment in the fiscal year 1903 was \$141,506.63.

Deducting from this sum \$14,458.88, for articles condemned and dropped, and 10 per cent for reasonable wear and tear, gives the sum of \$127,047.75, which represents the reasonable value of the equipment at the beginning of the fiscal year 1904. Adding to this \$41,321.38, the value of the equipment purchased in 1904, we have the sum of \$168,369.13, representing the gross value of equipment for the year 1904. Deducting \$16,836.91 (being 10 per cent of the gross value) for wear and tear during the year 1904, and \$12,000 (the rental value of the premises occupied) from \$88,477.92, the excess of the value of the product over the cost of production, and we have \$59,641.01 as the net excess of the value of the product over the cost of production for the fiscal year 1904. The net excess for the fiscal year 1903 was \$24,236.64. The prices fixed for the product are according to Ramaley's schedule of prices.

Now, the increase in the net value of the product over the cost of production was largely due to the reduction in the cost of production. Formerly we had to bring to the Philippine Islands from the United States expert printers, and experts in the correlated trades, at a large expense to the Government. There were no people here who could do the work. But after two years' effort Filipinos have been trained to do the work at less salary and the Americans now in the Printing Bureau are largely occupied in supervising Filipinos and instructing Filipinos in the work. In this way the net value of the product over the cost of production for the fiscal year 1903 was more than doubled in the fiscal year 1904.

Representative PAYNE. What was the reason for establishing the plant in the first place?

Commissioner SMITH. During the military régime and for some time after the establishment of civil government there was but one establishment which could do the public printing. This establishment was owned by Mr. McCullough, who came out here with the Army and did the printing during the exercise of the military government, and, subsequently, for a time for the Civil Government. The cost, however, was very great, and as it was impossible to secure any reduction of price, it was found economical to establish a printing bureau to do the Government printing. The Government Printing Plant is not only a printing bureau but it is also a school of instruction. We have fifty or sixty apprentices

there who are receiving instruction in all the branches of the printing and affiliated trades.

Senator NEWLANDS. You make better progress there than in a private institution?

Commissioner SMITH. Yes, sir; because more pains are taken to instruct students and apprentices. The apprentice is started in at the bottom and advanced through all the different trades. He not only learns the different branches of printing but is also given instruction in electrotyping, photo-engraving, and in operating the machinery of a modern printing plant.

Senator NEWLANDS. How about the question of the men sticking to their business and attending regularly to their work? How did you find that?

Commissioner SMITH. That was the great difficulty in the beginning, but a system was adopted which has brought a permanent set of employees to the Printing Bureau and has compelled them to remain long enough to learn the business. In addition to the monthly wage of junior craftsmen a small sum is allowed for each day of actual service. This additional wage, however, was not payable until the completion of three years of service or, in the discretion of the Public Printer, at the end of two years of service. If any apprentice or junior craftsman severed his connection with the Bureau before the time fixed he lost this accumulation, which was paid only upon the termination of his apprenticeship or contract of service.

Representative OTJEN. Do you do any printing for private parties?

Commissioner SMITH. Only in case of emergencies; and then only when the work can not be done by private establishments.

Representative OTJEN. Outside of printing for the Philippine Government, do you do printing for the Army?

Commissioner SMITH. Yes, sir; occasionally we do, when requested; that is largely in the hands of the military. Whatever they have requested has been done for them.

Senator NEWLANDS. Has it been proposed to sell the printing plant?

Commissioner SMITH. Not that I have heard of; if there has been any proposition to sell it, it has not come to my knowledge.

Senator NEWLANDS. You regard it as a part of the educational system?

Commissioner SMITH. Well, not as an important part; and yet it is an industrial school which is teaching something that is not taught in the industrial schools of the Bureau of Education. Mr. Leech, the Public Printer, also compels the apprentices to go to night school, so that they are acquiring a useful trade during the day and acquiring English and theoretical knowledge at night.

Representative OTJEN. But your primary object was economy in the printing for the Philippine Government?

Commissioner SMITH. Unquestionably that was the first object.

Representative PAYNE. Now, in regard to the commissary, we would like to hear from Commissioner Forbes.

Commissioner FORBES. We have in the city of Manila a commissary store primarily for the supply of the Constabulary. They do not sell either to the public or to civil employees in the city of Manila. They have branches throughout the provinces, and outside the city of Manila the civil employees can buy commissary stores at a low price. I can not give you the receipts and expenditures, but the surplus is about ₱40,000 in all, which they have run up since the thing was started, and that is held practically as a reserve fund. The commissary is primarily for the supply of the Constabulary.

Senator WARREN. That ₱40,000 is the capital with which you buy your supplies?

Commissioner FORBES. The capital was appropriated in the beginning, as a reimbursable appropriation. They buy and sell, and the receipts are credited to the appropriation and made reavailable.

Representative SCOTT. What proportion of the total sales are made up of goods handled by the local merchants?

Commissioner FORBES. I think the bulk of the goods are handled by the local merchants here in Manila, but only a very small proportion can be obtained in the more distant provinces and towns, particularly in the mountainous regions where things have to be carried on pack mules. There the American school-teachers and other employees would practically have to go without many things.

Senator WARREN. Mr. Secretary, the Army commissary is for two purposes—(1) to have the necessities for the soldier at the site where he is stationed and (2) to equalize prices, in order that the prices may be the same in New York or wherever he may be.

Do you follow that rule in supplying your Constabulary, or do you change the prices according to the expenses of transportation?

Commissioner FORBES. The prices are the same. Is not that correct, Governor Wright?

Governor-General WRIGHT. No; I think that possibly there is some addition made as to the remote points. They are practically the same, however; there may be a slight difference.

Senator WARREN. Practically, the salaries being the same, the prices at which you sell goods are the same?

Governor-General WRIGHT. We do not try to make any profit out of it.

Vice-Governor IDE. Is it not true that they pay cost and 10 per cent?

Governor-General WRIGHT. Yes, sir; I believe so.

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, that makes it a uniform charge, everywhere.

Representative GILLETT. What is the total appropriation that has been made for this purpose?

Commissioner FORBES. I would have to look that up; I have not the figures with me.

Representative GILLETT. Were the appropriations made at different times?

Commissioner FORBES. Yes, sir.

Representative OTJEN. Have you increased your capital by subsequent appropriations to the original one?

Commissioner FORBES. Well, \$40,000 is about the value of the surplus now.

Representative OTJEN. That is, it has increased by that amount?

Commissioner FORBES. Yes, sir.

Governor-General WRIGHT. We found that in order to keep our Constabulary officers and school-teachers in the provinces we had to furnish them with such food as they were accustomed to.

Representative PAYNE. Are receipts from the commissary stores turned into the Treasury and required to be reappropriated?

Governor-General WRIGHT. No; it is a reimbursable appropriation; they turn it over and over.

Representative SCOTT. One of the indictments we heard yesterday was against the Insular Purchasing Agent. I would like to have Mr. Forbes state what his duties are and what the circumstances are that make this service necessary.

Commissioner FORBES. The Purchasing Agent is under the control of the Governor-General; he is not in my department.

Governor-General WRIGHT. I think Commissioner Forbes can explain it. His committee has recently been making a thorough investigation of that office, and he is probably as familiar with it as I am.

Commissioner FORBES. My recent investigation goes to demonstrate that they have the machinery for testing the quality of goods. At the time we came here it was extremely difficult to get either the amount or quality of goods that we wanted, at reasonable prices, or at any price, in fact. To run the Government economically, the Insular Purchasing Agent became almost an absolute necessity. We have now worked up a general plan, and our committee has recommended that the Insular Purchasing Agent make a contract with some commercial house for the more staple articles and then call for them as they may be needed. In that way the Government would be prevented from carrying a large stock of goods, and the community would also be enabled to avail itself of the large stock of goods carried for governmental purposes.

Representative SCOTT. How much of a force does the Purchasing Agent have?

Commissioner FORBES. About ninety men, I believe.

Representative SCOTT. Then he really runs a great big store?

Commissioner FORBES. Yes, sir. The primary cause for the establishment of this Bureau was to secure and keep on hand lumber for use of the Government. They now have a contract with a lumber company for supplying lumber to the Government and have done away with their stock of lumber.

Representative SCOTT. The goods carried in stock are simply furnished upon requisition to the various Departments, and not sold to anybody?

Commissioner FORBES. They are sold only to the Departments; yes, sir.

Governor-General WRIGHT. It is proper to supplement what Commissioner Forbes has stated by saying that through the Insular Bureau at Washington we have a local agent in New York, and that where it is necessary we purchase goods in the United States through that local buyer. Our policy, however, has been to purchase goods here wherever possible. Of course you understand that goods as a rule are purchased through competitive bids.

Representative OTJEN. Commissioner Forbes, it has been stated to me that the Purchasing Agent was unnecessary—that it should be combined with another Bureau. What is your opinion about that?

Commissioner FORBES. Was any particular Bureau specified?

Representative OTJEN. I think it was suggested that it might be consolidated with the Auditor's Department.

Commissioner FORBES. I hardly think there is any way of merging those two establishments; they are entirely distinct and have entirely different qualifications. It may be possible to combine the commissary and the Insular Purchasing Agent, and in fact our committee has recommended that that be done—that the commissary stores be consolidated with the Insular Purchasing Agent's office.

Senator SCOTT. What does the Bureau of the Insular Purchasing Agent cost a year, in salaries, at the present time?

Commissioner FORBES. The appropriation last year was about ₱500,000. It included, besides salaries, the maintenance of a very expensive land-transportation system, stables, etc.; but all that has been done away with. We believe this year it will be about ₱320,000.

Governor-General WRIGHT. It also included coal, which is sent all over the Islands to the different coaling stations, for the use of the Coast Guard boats.

Commissioner FORBES. The city of Manila now handles the land-transportation business and furnishes transportation service to all the Insular Bureaus. Each Bureau pays the city for what it gets.

Representative SCOTT. Do you mean the city of Manila operates the land-transportation system?

Commissioner FORBES. Yes, sir; it was formerly managed by the Insular Purchasing Agent, but it was all invoiced over to the city and they now furnish the transportation to the Insular Bureaus at specified rates. When the transportation is not used by the Insular Bureaus the city utilizes it in the departments. We saved something over \$100,000 by the change. The saving is from a great many sources, particularly in spare parts and in repair shops, blacksmith shops, etc.; and besides that, a great many Bureaus do not need the full use of their carromatas or wagons, and when they are not in use the city can utilize them.

Governor-General WRIGHT. The tendency of each Bureau is to set up for itself exclusively, and have its own shops, transportation, boats, etc., and so accumulate quite a large establishment.

Representative CURTIS. Several gentlemen have complained to me very bitterly as to the purchase by this Government of an old hotel building which is now used for Constabulary purposes. I would like to have some one explain why that building was purchased; and if it was needed, why it was needed. The complaint was made to me that it was not needed, and that the price was exorbitant.

Governor-General WRIGHT. General Smith conducted the negotiations and I think can give you the figures in regard to it.

Commissioner SMITH. The purchase price of the Oriente Hotel property was ₱675,000, Mexican currency, which was the equivalent at the time of payment to \$313,000, gold. The purchase price authorized by the Commission was \$320,000, gold.

As far as the purchase of the Oriente Hotel is concerned, at the time the purchase was made the Government was renting buildings all over the city. They were renting the post-office building, they rented buildings for the Bureau of Agriculture, for the Ethnological Survey, and the Constabulary, and in addition to that we were confronted with the proposition of either erecting a new building or renting a new set of buildings in which to place a large amount of Constabulary stores which at that time were stored away in the casemates in the city walls of Manila, where they suffered considerable damage from dampness and in other ways. The matter that really brought about the sale, however, was the question of a post-office. The rental of the post-office building in Spanish times was ₱250, Mexican currency, per month. At the beginning of the military régime the rent was ₱300, Mexican currency, which was finally raised to ₱600, Mexican currency. After civil government was established the ₱600, Mexican currency, became \$600, gold, and finally the landlord demanded \$1,000, gold, per month. This was the last straw, especially as more or less the same experience was had with other buildings rented by the Government. The excessive rents paid and the constant tendency to raise them, coupled with the large cost of transportation occasioned by having Government offices scattered all over the city, made it advisable to concentrate as many of them as possible in one Government building and so escape the payment of exorbitant rentals and secure a reduction of the transportation account. The first offer that was made for the building was something like ₱650,000, Mexican currency. This offer was accepted

by the agent of the owners. The acceptance, however, was repudiated by the owners and nothing further was done in the matter for several months, when negotiations were reopened by the owners.

Representative GILLET. When was this?

Commissioner SMITH. I can not give the exact date.

Vice-Governor IDE. The building was sold in October, 1903.

Commissioner SMITH. Yes. Negotiations had been going on for some time. Finally the sum of \$320,000, gold, was fixed by resolution of the Commission as the price which the Government would be willing to pay for the building, and I was authorized to negotiate with the owners on that basis. The price fixed by the Commission was not communicated to the owners, to whom I offered \$300,000, gold, or thereabouts. This sum the owners agreed to accept provided it was reduced to Mexican currency at the rate of exchange of the day; that is to say, the owners would not accept gold, but preferred Mexican. The offer in gold reduced to Mexican amounted to ₱675,000, which was the sum offered and accepted in Mexican. As the Commission fixed the price in gold, there was some doubt as to whether the offer in Mexican made by me should be confirmed. The bid was finally confirmed, however, and the sum of ₱675,000 was paid for the property, which at the date the transaction was concluded was the equivalent of \$313,000, gold, or a saving of \$7,000, gold, on the price authorized, namely \$320,000, gold.

Vice-Governor IDE. General Smith, I do not think the inquiry relates to those details at all, but touches upon the point as to whether we saved money by the transaction or not.

Commissioner SMITH. Yes, sir; money was saved, and I feel confident that if a firm wanted to buy the building to-day they would have to pay as much as the Government paid for it. It is one of the best buildings, according to the Insular Architect, in the city of Manila. It is all built of hard wood, all the floors and joists being constructed of hard woods of the first group. The building could not be constructed to-day for anything like the price we paid for it.

Representative CURTIS. I understand the Government was trying to sell the building, but could not sell at the price paid for it.

Commissioner SMITH. Not to my knowledge; I have been present at every session of the Commission, and I have never heard the subject presented.

Governor-General WRIGHT. I would like to add that it was not

merely one building that we bought; it was several buildings, which were very useful to us for "bodegas," or warehouses, and there was also quite a lot of land.

Senator SCOTT. In the purchase of that property, did the Government save money at a reasonable interest over what they were paying for rental?

Commissioner SMITH. The report of the committee will show that they did.

Governor-General WRIGHT. My recollection is that, considering the rents we were then paying (it is an old transaction, and I do not remember all the details), and paying the price we did for it, we were getting 8 per cent on our money.

Senator SCOTT. That is what I wanted to know.

Governor-General WRIGHT. There was never any regret upon the part of the Commission over the purchase of the building, except that it shut up the only first-class hotel here.

Commissioner SMITH. Yes; that was the only regret.

Representative OTJEN. Are you now using all the buildings for Government purposes?

Commissioner SMITH. Yes, sir; and we could use more buildings, I expect.

Representative OTJEN. Are you renting any buildings now?

Commissioner SMITH. Yes; we are renting buildings for the Civil Hospital, and go-downs for the Insular Purchasing Agent, and the Bureau of Education.

Senator SCOTT. What do you mean by go-downs?

Governor-General WRIGHT. That is a word used here to indicate a warehouse.

Commissioner SMITH. The report to which I refer is here, and I would like to present it to you, so you gentlemen can hear it in detail. The report is as follows:

In accordance with the provisions of Executive Order No. 89, dated October 17, 1903, the committee thereby appointed to examine the Oriente Hotel property, to recommend needed alterations thereon, to hear statements and applications relative to the assignment of quarters therein, and to recommend the proper custody of said building, pending repairs, has the honor to submit the following report:

The committee held meetings October 21 and 31, November 7, and December 14. Notices were sent to the heads of all Bureaus requesting information relative to the needs of additional quarters, and preliminary plans of the building were drawn up. As a result of the information

received, the feasibility of providing quarters for the following Bureaus was discussed, and they were requested to confer with the Insular Architect relative to the assignment of rooms and repairs needed:

- (1) Forestry Bureau.
- (2) Philippine Civil Service Board.
- (3) Official Gazette.
- (4) Ethnological Survey.
- (5) Court of Customs Appeals.
- (6) All Constabulary offices in Manila.
- (7) The American Circulating Library.
- (8) The three parts of Court of First Instance.
- (9) Bureau of Agriculture.
- (10) Court of Land Registration.
- (11) Bureau of Internal Revenue.

Quarters have been arranged, through consultation with the Insular Architect, for the first seven Bureaus enumerated, and five unassigned rooms remain available for emergencies or future expansion. The selection made for the American Circulating Library is regarded as the best available site, involving freedom from noise, advantageous light and ventilation, and accessibility to the public.

The judges of the Courts of First Instance conferred with the committee, and in view of relief afforded in the present quarters and the convenience thereof, provisions in the Oriente Hotel property for those courts were deemed unnecessary.

Upon conference, a similar conclusion was reached relative to the needs of the Agricultural Bureau on account of extended storeroom required, and extensions proposed in the future in the vicinity of Singalong farm.

Relative to the needs of the Court of Land Registration, provisions are being made for this court in the new municipal building now under construction.

The underlying principles controlling the selection of quarters by the committee have been (1) to decrease rentals paid by the Government for the use of private buildings; (2) to provide for the necessary expansion of certain Bureaus for which additional rentals would be immediately incurred; (3) to provide suitable and convenient quarters for the various Bureaus concerned.

Illustrating these points, attention is invited to the present overcrowded condition of the Intendencia Building, rendering certain offices unsanitary and decreasing the effective service of employees. While no rentals are incurred by the Bureaus occupying this building, an expansion of the Auditor's office was an immediate necessity, and of other Bureaus in the near future. The Constabulary officer in the same building was negotiating the rent of a storehouse. The expenses saved by withdrawing the Constabulary offices, the Civil Service Board, and the Forestry Bureau, permitting an expansion of the Auditor's and Treasurer's offices, and placing therein the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which has need of considerable vault room, consist of (1) a combination of associated interests, permitting a higher degree of efficiency in the discharge of Government business; (2) increased

sanitary conditions resulting in a higher daily efficiency of service on the part of employees; (3) a saving in rentals which would have been incurred in the immediate future. While the money value of these conditions of healthfulness and convenience is somewhat problematic, it is certainly large.

The following computations are respectfully submitted as showing the capitalization of rentals saved to the Government by the utilization of the Oriente Hotel building:

	United States currency.
(1) Rentals actually paid:	
Ethnological Survey, monthly rentals.....	\$100
American Circulating Library, monthly rentals.....	100
Constabulary, monthly rentals.....	475
Monthly rentals	675
Yearly rentals	8,100
(2) Rentals which were about to be incurred to provide needed relief, estimated:	
Constabulary, monthly rentals.....	575
Auditor, monthly rentals.....	200
Ethnological Survey, monthly rentals.....	100
Forestry Bureau, monthly rentals.....	100
Monthly rentals	975
Annual rentals	11,700
(3) Rentals which would be incurred upon the return of the St. Louis exhibits, estimated:	
Ethnological Survey, monthly rental.....	100
Yearly rentals	1,200
(4) Rentals equivalent to the rental value of present quarters in Government buildings provided for in the Oriente Hotel Building, estimated:	
Philippine Civil Service Board, monthly rentals.....	200
Philippines Constabulary, monthly rentals.....	100
Official Gazette, monthly rentals	50
Forestry Bureau, monthly rentals.....	100
Court of Customs Appeals, monthly rentals.....	150
Monthly rentals	600
Yearly rentals	7,200

From the above discussion, it appears that the value to the Government of the Oriente Hotel property is equivalent to an aggregate annual rental of \$28,200, United States currency, which capitalized at 6 per cent, equals \$470,000.

It may be added that, to meet the needs of additional quarters, preliminary estimates had already been made for buildings, exclusive of grounds and equipment, by the Constabulary and the Ethnological Survey, aggregating a total cost of \$300,000, United States currency. These buildings

will not be required on account of quarters furnished in the Oriente Hotel property.

No attempt has been made to estimate the money value of increased conveniences, concentration of associated Bureaus, and the greater capacity for efficient service on account of sanitary conditions and healthfulness of employees attained by the utilization of this property.

Under date of November 9, 1903, the committee recommended that, upon the turning over of said property to the Government, its entire care and custody be assigned to the Constabulary.

* * * * *

It is respectfully recommended by the committee: First, that quarters be assigned in the building designated as the Oriente Hotel property to the seven Bureaus heretofore mentioned, and in accordance with the locations shown upon the plans attached hereto; second, that \$35,000, United States currency, be appropriated for the necessary repairs, and that the same be prosecuted as speedily as possible, under the supervision of the Insular Architect, in accordance with the general plans attached hereto; third, that the quartermaster of the Philippines Constabulary be appointed superintendent of this building, upon the completion of necessary repairs, that for such additional service his salary be increased \$200 per annum (he is already a bonded officer), that a janitor be provided for at an annual salary not to exceed \$900 per annum, and that a force of laborers be provided for not to exceed an aggregate expense of \$2,400 per annum, United States currency, the janitor and laborers to be employed by the superintendent provided for above; fourth, that the rewiring and associated electrical work be performed by the Constabulary as rapidly as the various floors are made available for occupation.

Respectfully submitted.

A. W. FERGUSSON,
Executive Secretary.

EDGAR K. BOURNE,
Chief of Bureau of Architecture.

HENRY T. ALLEN,
Chief of Philippines Constabulary.

J. W. BEARDSLEY,
Consulting Engineer to the Commission.

Representative WILEY. Governor Ide, you stated that the ice plant had been offered for sale. Now, is that a revocable offer?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir; there was an advertisement for bids, with a million dollars as a minimum price, but no bids were received. The time expired the 1st day of last June.

Representative WILEY. Well, now, Governor, many municipalities in the United States own their own public utilities, such as gas plants, electric-light plants, waterworks, etc., and it being shown that it is for the benefit of the people of Manila that the Government should own the ice plant, and there being a marked difference

between the character of Government competition in matters of trade as compared with a private individual, do you not think it would be very unwise to dispose of this ice plant?

Vice-Governor IDE. Well, the question involves a number of elements. The Secretary of War was quite anxious that we get rid of it and that the Government go out of business, and it was largely that representation which led to the proposal to sell it. If you are asking for my individual opinion—I can not speak for the Commission—my own opinion has been that, under all the circumstances, the Government might well continue to operate it.

Representative WILEY. It is profitable to the Government and useful to the people?

Vice-Governor IDE. Yes, sir.

Representative WILEY. And it is productive of health and gives the greatest good to the greatest number?

Vice-Governor IDE. I think so.

Governor-General WRIGHT. We have with us now Mr. Chief Justice Arellano. Does any gentleman desire to ask him any question about the subject-matter under discussion this morning and yesterday, namely, immediate or future independence for the Islands?

Representative COOPER. I would like to know who these people are who have been testifying.

Representative PAYNE. Mr. Chief Justice, what do you say as to turning over the Government of the Philippine Islands to the natives—their being ready to take charge of the Government—and your opinion as to the success or failure of an undertaking of that kind?

Chief Justice CAYETANO ARELLANO. Under the present circumstances, it is my opinion that such a course would be of very dire consequences.

Representative PAYNE. In what way? What result would follow?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. In my opinion, there are at present in this country many great internal dissensions which would give rise to very deplorable consequences and which would also give rise to the use of force and cause a recourse to arms, aside from the fact that the country is not sufficiently prepared to have the capacity for self-government.

Representative PAYNE. I am informed by a very careful and

truthful observer that the "tao" class are willing to work and are good workmen, but that the reason they do not work more is that they are so often cheated of the fruits of their labor, get a lower price than they should for their products, are deceived with false measurement or scales, and in various other ways, so that they very frequently lose the fruits of their labor and become discouraged. Have you made any observation of that kind?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I can not be sure that this is true as a general rule; it may occur in instances.

Representative PAYNE. Now as to this popular assembly, so called, which is to be organized soon: What do you say as to the members of that body being in a true sense the representatives of the Filipino people, elected, as they will be, by a small percentage of the people?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I doubt very much whether the members of this assembly will be the true representatives of the people.

Representative PAYNE. Will you give your reasons for the opinion that the people are not prepared for independence and self-government?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Education has not been sufficiently extended among the people—it has been introduced only recently in a true sense; nor have the people been accustomed to the exercise of their individual rights, and they have not a sufficient idea of the responsibilities which would be incumbent upon them if they were to have self-government.

Representative PAYNE. Do you believe that the United States is making some progress in education toward that end—the end of preparing the people for self-government?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Notable progress; yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. What do you say as to the practicability of introducing the jury system in the courts of the Islands at the present time?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I do not consider it feasible yet.

Representative PAYNE. Do you think that it would result in meting out justice to the parties litigant if you had jury trials here?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Taking into consideration the intellectual culture of the people of this Archipelago, I see a great many difficulties in the way of putting into practice the jury

system in these Islands and expecting it to give any beneficial results.

Representative PAYNE. Would parties outside the jury exercise undue influence against the courts of justice—undue influence upon the verdict of the jury?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I fear very much that they would.

Representative PAYNE. And are the people from whom juries would have to be drawn sufficiently intelligent to decide questions justly and fairly between the parties litigant?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Even among that class of persons in these Islands who are fairly well educated, I do not believe that we could expect them to have the stability of judgment which would be necessary for them to pass fairly and justly upon the questions that a jury would have to decide.

Representative PAYNE. Do you care to state—of course, taking into consideration your position of Chief Justice—whether justice is fairly administered in the trial courts at the present time?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. The only thing I can say is that I think the courts are well conducted, and that they respond to the hopes of the Government and also of the people themselves.

Secretary TAFT. Mr. Payne, may I interject a question? Will you ask the Chief Justice whether, in his opinion, the justice of the peace system should not be changed?

Representative PAYNE. Yes, sir.

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Yes, sir; I think it should be.

Secretary TAFT. Is that not a part of the administration of justice that needs a very great reform?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Well, I would like to have, in that connection, a suggestion as to what should be done in the way of reforming the justice of the peace system.

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Various reforms should be undertaken; and in my private opinion, one of them should be a reversal of the old system with regard to the time during which the office of justice of the peace is exercised—during the past it was for a period of two years—and the justice of the peace courts should be subject to the inspection of the Courts of First Instance.

Representative PAYNE. Is there any appellate jurisdiction from the justice of the peace court?

Secretary TAFT. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Is there any other point in connection with the administration of justice where the Chief Justice would ask for an improvement or change?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I can not think of any reforms that might be instituted in the administration of justice now. The courts are working well, and when there is any need of reform I think it will be promptly met.

Representative PAYNE. Can the Chief Justice specify any point, aside from questions of economy, upon which Congress might legislate for the improvement of the Islands?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I have not come prepared to make any recommendations of that character, and I can think of none at this time.

Representative PAYNE. Mr. Cooper says that he had a conversation with you in which you expressed to him that there was great delay in the law in making appeals—that the machinery of the law needed amendment in that respect.

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I am very much obliged to Representative Cooper for reminding me of this point. It is true that I had spoken with him; and there had been some talk among the members of the Supreme Court with regard to the advisability of laying a petition before the Commission asking that the Code of Civil Procedure be amended in that part relating to bills of exceptions, but we have found this course to be unnecessary, in view of the fact that the difficulties which first arose shortly after the application of the new Code of Civil Procedure have been disappearing with time, and in view of the jurisprudence that has been laid down by the Supreme Court; and we hope in time to do away entirely with those difficulties.

Secretary TAFT. They have removed them by construction, in other words.

Representative PAYNE. Will the Chief Justice please state his age?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Fifty-eight years.

Representative PAYNE. How long ago was he admitted to the bar?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. In 1876.

Representative PAYNE. And has he practiced law all the time, except the time during which he has been on the bench?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. No, sir; for a long time I was not

engaged in the active practice of law but was simply a consulting lawyer.

Representative PAYNE. I have no further question, but I would like to ask the Filipino Commissioners some questions.

Secretary TAFT. I would like to ask a few more questions in regard to the justices of the peace. They are all natives, are they not?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. All of them, I believe; practically all.

Secretary TAFT. And they are appointed by the Commission upon the recommendation of the provincial governors for the various towns in which they are to discharge their duties, are they not?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. Yes, sir.

Secretary TAFT. They are not paid a salary?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. No, sir; they are paid by fees.

Secretary TAFT. I should like to ask the Chief Justice whether he thinks that the system would be much improved if the number of justices of the peace in each province were reduced and only five or six, or something like that, were appointed for each province and they were paid a salary. I would like to ask him as to whether or not, in his opinion, that would not elevate the office and make it more desirable and cause increased efficiency?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. That is a plan that I have spoken of. It has its advantages and also its disadvantages, in that people having business with the justice of the peace would have to travel a long distance to reach the place where the court is situated. They would become, as it were, circuit courts.

Vice-Governor IDE. I may state, for the information of the Secretary of War, that Judge Lobingier has provided a very careful scheme for a reduction of the justice of the peace system, and that scheme if carried out would cost \$360,000, gold, a year. That is his estimate of the expense of a scheme of that kind.

Governor-General WRIGHT. You know we have been working on a scheme to reduce the expenses of the Government.

Representative PAYNE. I would like to ask the Chief Justice how the justices of the peace receive their emolument now?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. It is a fee system.

Secretary TAFT. I would like to ask the Chief Justice if it is not a fact that the present system results in forming little cliques around the barrios, where legislation is fomented for the benefit of the justices of the peace, and where great injustice is done to the natives?

Chief Justice ARELLANO. I have received reports from the Attorney-General's Office indicating that this is true; I have also heard the same from private sources.

Representative LONGWORTH. What legal qualifications, if any, have the justices of the peace?

Secretary TAFT. Simply that of residence; nothing more.

Vice-Governor IDE. It is just the same as in the United States.

Representative PAYNE. If there are no further questions, I would like to ask Commissioner Legarda a question or two. I wish Commissioner Legarda would give briefly his opinion as to whether or not the Filipino people want independence at once, and whether they are prepared for it; and if not, why?

Commissioner LEGARDA. The Filipino people are not ready, nor prepared, for independence now. They want it, I think, in the first place, because there are two or three, or perhaps a dozen, agitators who explain to them that they can establish a better government than we have now.

Representative PAYNE. Well, is that an intelligent desire upon their part? Are those people able to weigh all of the circumstances and the results, or is it simply a sort of feeling that every man has, that he would like to run his own shop?

Commissioner LEGARDA. The intelligent people of the Islands, I am certain, will refuse and protest as much as they can against independence; the most conservative people would not consent to have independence at present.

Representative PAYNE. Do you agree with one of the other speakers, that anarchy would follow?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. Would it be possible to bring the Moros into a government established by the Filipinos?

Commissioner LEGARDA. No, sir; it would mean war.

Representative PAYNE. And no one could predict what the result of that war would be, I presume. You believe that the Filipinos will ultimately be ready for independence, however?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir; but it may take a long time to prepare them for it.

Representative GILLET. How long?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Well, that depends upon the Filipinos themselves.

Senator SCOTT. Is there not a great deal of jealousy among the various tribes?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Formerly, yes; but not so much now.

Representative PAYNE. How do conditions compare now with conditions under the Spanish rule, as to the rights of the people being guaranteed and justice being done?

Commissioner LEGARDA. We have improved very much in many respects.

Representative PAYNE. How about the improvement in education and the success of the educational system?

Commissioner LEGARDA. We have improved in many respects, as I have said.

Representative PAYNE. I presume you have a great necessity for larger appropriations for public schools, in order to reach all the people?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Of course the Government can not educate all the people who desire it. We can educate about 400,000 of them, but we have not enough money at present to care for a million or over, as would be necessary if we took them all in.

Representative PAYNE. If you had sufficient money to educate all of them, could you get all of the children into the schools?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. What do you say about getting them into manual-training schools—that is, the men and boys?

Commissioner LEGARDA. That is a very fine scheme.

Representative PAYNE. What progress do these people make in learning the English language?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I was astonished, on my visit a year and a half ago to the northern provinces, to find that the proportion of children speaking English is larger than those speaking Spanish.

Representative PAYNE. And of course that proportion is increasing daily?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. What do you say of the desire of the children to learn, not only language but the rudiments of education, and also in manual-training schools?

Commissioner LEGARDA. All of them are doing very nicely.

Representative PAYNE. Are the laboring people—men and women—seeking education?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir; they are very much interested.

Representative PAYNE. You have night schools, I believe?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir.

Representative PAYNE. What progress are they making?

Commissioner LEGARDA. They are making very satisfactory progress.

Representative PAYNE. Can you suggest, Commissioner Legarda, any immediate legislation by Congress, other than with reference to economic questions, which you think the Islands now need?

Commissioner LEGARDA. No; I believe not, at present.

Representative SCOTT. One question. Do you think that any considerable portion of the people in these Islands would restore Spanish rule here if they had the power, in preference to American rule?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I do not believe so, at all. They know their personal rights and begin to appreciate the benefits of them.

Representative SCOTT. You think that even among the dissatisfied people, who complain about various things, there would be a very small proportion who would ask for that change?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I hardly believe that those people themselves would want such a change, nor ask for it.

Representative PAYNE. One more question. I understand one of the banks here has opened a savings department. Do you know anything about the amount of deposits since that institution was opened?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I am not acquainted with the facts in the case; the institution is a private one, and I have not investigated it.

Representative PAYNE. Has the Commission taken up the matter of establishing savings banks?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Not up to the present. It would be a very good thing to encourage the people to save their money.

Governor-General WRIGHT. A bill is now prepared for a postal savings bank.

Representative PAYNE. Commissioner Tavera, will you cover this same ground?

Commissioner TAVERA. Yes, sir. Before I start in, I would like to say a few words in regard to the justices of the peace. In the pueblos I have often received complaints from the people relative to the irresponsible persons who are appointed to the office of justice of the peace, owing to the fact that the men of prominence in the community who get this office are paid so little, and have such a lot of work and annoyance in connection with

the office that they quickly resign, so that the office is generally occupied by persons who not only lack responsibility but are incompetent. Now, I have brought up a proposition to those people, of establishing justice of the peace courts by districts, pointing out to them the disadvantages which this system would have, which would be that the parties litigant would have to go a long distance before they reached the court; and they all told me that they preferred to have this inconvenience and get strict justice rather than to have a justice of the peace in their own town, close at hand, upon whom they could not rely.

Now, answering the line of questions which were put to Commissioner Legarda, I will start in by saying that any person who has made even a hurried visit through the different parts of the Archipelago must have noted that these people are not ready at the present time for independence. The great masses of the people—the ignorant masses—clamor for independence, for the reason that they believe, in their simplicity, that independence would mean for them an easier life, more money, and greater felicity. Now, among the leaders of these ignorant masses there is a large proportion who are simply agitators, but there are also those who believe in good faith that immediate independence would benefit the country. Now, these people believe it because they do not realize the fact that in order to institute here a popular democratic form of government it would not only be necessary to have a directing class capable of performing their duties but that there would also have to be a class of people who could see the benefits of this kind of government and who would coöperate with the governing class and assist in the work. As a matter of fact, they have in their minds the institution of a government here which would be republican in name, but really monarchical in effect, and which would be formed by a governing class which would have entire power in their own hands, although they believe in good faith that that power would be well exercised. We have a picture of how the Philippine Islands would be governed in that style in the South American Republics, where we have a people that by war have won their independence from Spain and have set up independent governments, but they are governments in which the same abuses are committed as were committed under the Spanish Government. Hence, it amounts, in effect and in reality, to merely a change of flag and not a change of government, as the customs of the governing officials are the

same. Therefore, the question that confronts us in the Philippine Islands is a question of education; and I think that the basis of the education of these people is in the manual-training schools. I say this because manual training has been looked upon with disfavor in this country, as it is in many old-style and antiquated or aristocratic countries, where manual work is looked down upon as only fit for the lower classes and not fit for gentlemen. Therefore, there has always been a tendency here among the people—a tendency which still exists—of sending their children to school in order to prepare them to become doctors, lawyers, and professional men generally; and the result is that we have at present in the Islands a greatly superfluous number of professional men, who on account of not having studied their professions sufficiently, or by reason of a lack of sufficient capacity to exercise such professions, are, as the French people say, “*des fruits secs*” (dry fruits), that do not yield any result. Naturally, this class of men is the class that makes up the group of discontented. Now, this entire class of people, called the “*ilustrado*,” has been criticised here for not opposing and overcoming the ideas of the ignorant masses, and this criticism is just with regard to the principal class of professional men of whom I have spoken, but it does not extend to the really learned class. It is only applicable to those few people who form the discontented class. Now, this tendency to send children of a certain intelligence to schools for the purpose of making professional men of them has had the effect of making the class of professional men in these Islands entirely too numerous, and also the further effect of taking away from the laboring class that intelligence which is good for it and is not good enough for the professional class. Therefore the introduction of manual-training schools in these Islands will teach the people that a man having a trade and knowing that trade well belongs to a profession of just as much dignity as does a professional man, and is very different indeed from an artisan or a man who followed a trade under the old régime. English has become more and more extended among the people, and I have come upon groups of Filipinos in various pueblos in the Islands—it happened in Sorsogon this past week—and found them talking English. It is true that it is problematical English, but not so much so as the kind that I speak. I do not quite recollect all the questions propounded by Representative Payne, but I am quite ready to answer any questions. I recall, however, the last question which Mr. Payne

asked, relative to any suggestion that might be made as to legislation which could be enacted by Congress aside from that of an economic character. Now, I was going to make a suggestion as to the Dingley tariff, which, however, may be of an economic character. Some time ago the Congress of the United States had the great generosity to make a gift of \$3,000,000 to the people of the Philippine Islands; now, if it should ever occur again to the mind of Congress to make a like display of its generosity, I would suggest that the money so given be used for the establishment of manual-training schools in this Archipelago, and if my wish were to be fulfilled I shall be quite satisfied not to open my mouth again.

Representative SCOTT. I have here a statement that out there in the country barrios the municipal presidents almost universally express the sentiments that the United States is a great, rich country, and that it ought not to tax the people here at all, but ought to furnish from the home Treasury the money necessary to run the Islands, and pay, in addition thereto, the amount of money necessary to be spent in public works. I would like to know if Dr. Tavera has heard of these sentiments.

Commissioner TAVERA. I have never heard of that; no, sir.

Representative SCOTT. One more question. I have been told that this agitation for immediate independence about which we have heard so much is a comparatively recent thing—that it has arisen within a comparatively short and recent period of time. I would like to know whether this is true or whether it has always existed?

Commissioner TAVERA. That sentiment has always existed here, but there was a period during which it appeared to have died out to a certain extent, and I would like to make an explanation with regard to this. The number of these people whom we call the uncompromising element has not increased, nor has it decreased. This leads me to believe that they are influenced more by sentiment than by reason; but it is a fact that some who have never before expressed their desire for a future independence have done so at this time. I refer to a portion of the Federal Party.

Representative SCOTT. And why have they done so at this particular time?

Commissioner TAVERA. This sentiment was expressed by the Federal Party, or rather by a part of it, because they had an idea that the annexation of the Islands as a State of the Union was an

impossibility, and, on the other hand, they wished to combat the idea of certain Americans in the Islands who advocate their indefinite retention. They wished to demonstrate that the more the policy of the indefinite retention of the Islands was insisted upon the more they would insist upon their desire for ultimate independence. Besides this, they thought that by making a declaration of this character the Congress of the United States would be influenced to make a declaration as to the independence of the Islands at the proper time.

Representative SCOTT. Is it not true that the native papers here, or the agitators, gave a wrong impression as to the purpose of this visit? They do not realize that the question of retaining the Islands is not a live issue any more in the United States, and they gave the impression that this delegation was coming here to consider that as well as other things?

Commissioner TAVERA. In my reading of the native press, I have not noticed anything of that sort. However, there is one native paper which I read but little and which I think would be capable of expressing that idea; I refer to *El Grito del Pueblo*.

Representative WILEY. Doctor, do not you people of intelligence and wealth here realize that the agitation of this question is wholly discouraging to the introduction of capital which would develop the material interests of the Islands and make them prosperous?

Commissioner TAVERA. The intelligent class of people fully realize that fact; and I will say that when I was in the United States with the Honorary Commission last year the majority of the members of that body fully realized that to speak upon this subject—the subject of immediate independence—at the present time would simply be equivalent to frightening capital away from the Islands.

Speaking of the Honorary Commission, I desire to say that there has been a mistake made here in judging the influence that that commission has had in spreading in the Philippine Islands the sentiment for immediate independence. Now, as a matter of fact, the members of that commission did not come back to these Islands changed in their views at all. Some of them left here rabid nationalists, and when they came back, after having come in contact with certain people in the United States, particularly in Boston, who assured them that there was a large proportion of the American people who cherished a sentiment favorable to the independence

of these Islands, they merely returned with their convictions confirmed; but the great majority of the members did not change their opinions as a result of that visit. The only way their minds have been changed is that they have been convinced of the fact that with the guidance of the American people they would some day be educated and made fit for self-government. Therefore, the result of that visit has simply been that the uncompromising element has returned to the Islands with the same views as those with which they left them; while the other element has simply been convinced of the good faith of the United States in its promise for the future of these Islands.

Representative PAYNE. That is all. I would like now to ask Mr. Luzuriaga to make a statement along the same lines.

Commissioner LUZURIAGA. I will begin as Dr. Tavera did, by speaking of the justices of the peace. I do not think these courts have done everything desired by the Government, but, on the contrary, have left much to be desired, and in my own opinion there is a great need for reform in the system of justice of the peace courts. I had an opportunity about a year ago to acquire personal knowledge of this fact, at the time of my visit to several parts of the Islands, when complaints were presented to me of abuses committed upon the part of justices of the peace. The difficulties arising under the present justice of the peace system are no doubt due to the fact that the office is not held by the best men in the community, as the men competent to hold it refuse it by reason of the fact that it does not pay them for their time and trouble.

Senator NEWLANDS. Mr. Luzuriaga, if you will allow me to interrupt you, I would like to ask one more question of Mr. Legarda. Mr. Legarda, do you favor ultimate independence for the Philippine Islands, or do you desire them to be permanently retained by the United States?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I can not answer your question categorically without giving an explanation of my feelings in regard to the matter. I believe and I have always hoped that the people of the United States will be generous with the Filipino people and that if the Filipino people are treated justly they will never ask for independence.

Representative WILEY. One question: At this time are not the laws better enforced and law and order maintained in a better manner than ever before in the history of this Archipelago?

Commissioner LEGARDA. As a general rule, yes, sir; but of course there are instances where justice is not done to the full extent. This is due, however, more to the fact that the laws and the administration of justice are not in the hands of angels than to anything else, and the same difficulties are noticed here that are noticed in other countries, including the United States.

Representative WILEY. Is it not a fact that before American occupation of these Islands a person accused of a crime had not the right to face his accuser or have a compulsory attendance of witnesses?

Commissioner LEGARDA. As a general rule the defendant had such a right—to summon witnesses in his defense and to have his accuser appear before him. Those privileges were denied him, however, when the regular procedure was suspended.

Representative WILEY. Under the Spanish system they had not the right of habeas corpus, had they?

Commissioner LEGARDA. No, sir.

Representative WILEY. That great right has been given these people by the American Government?

Commissioner LEGARDA. Yes, sir; that is a great good that has been given the people of the Islands.

Senator NEWLANDS. Mr. Legarda, you state that you presume that there would be just treatment by the people of the United States. Do you mean that the people would in the end concede statehood to the Philippine Islands?

Commissioner LEGARDA. That is very possible, sir.

Senator NEWLANDS. If it was the intention of the United States to hold the Philippine Islands always as a dependency, would you then favor that retention or would you favor ultimate self-government or independence for the Islands?

Commissioner LEGARDA. I think it would be much easier for the United States to prepare the people of these Islands for self-government under the control or protection of the United States than as part of the Union, as a State, and that it would be easier for the United States to advance the people of these Islands for autonomic government under the protection of the United States than otherwise.

Commissioner LUZURIAGA. With regard to the political questions, I will say that I am one of the number of Filipinos who have the earnest conviction that immediate independence would have very

disastrous results. This belief is based (1) on the fact that education with 90 per cent of the inhabitants of these Islands is just beginning; and (2) that the other 10 per cent of the people, commonly called the directing class, are divided up into factions and that we would have the same state of affairs that we had during the Philippine revolution; and (3) because the economic situation of the country is a very precarious one. I am one of those who believe that in order to maintain a government it is necessary to have resources, to have revenues, and we will not have them for a number of years, nor have we got a personnel such as would be necessary for the organization of a government. Furthermore, we would be lacking in sufficient force to preserve peace at home, and it would be absolutely impossible for us to defend ourselves against the attacks of an enemy from the outside. Nor have we got men who would be capable in a diplomatic way of looking after the interests of our nation; we are utterly lacking in that class of men. I think I might add a few more details, but for the sake of brevity I believe I have said enough to give you a fair idea of my views upon this question.

Senator NEWLANDS. Have you the hope for the ultimate independence of the Philippine Islands at any time?

Commissioner LUZURIAGA. To be frank, until the time at which I reached manhood and during my entire life I have been brought up under a system of obedience or discipline, and I have therefore formed the belief that the best thing for us, taking into consideration our conditions here in the Philippine Islands, would be to allow ourselves to be directed by a nation that would lead us to prosperity and well-being. Moreover, speaking generally, I have never been an advocate of independence without liberty, as I believe that an independent government, like the Turkish Empire or Morocco, is incapable of ruling a people or a nation on liberal and democratic lines, while an autonomous government, like that of Canada or Australia, without being independent, is in much better condition to work out the welfare and felicity of its people.

Senator NEWLANDS. Have you the desire or hope of ultimate independence for these Islands?

Commissioner WORCESTER. He has already answered that in the negative. Perhaps the interpretation made of his statement was not understood. What he said is that his ultimate desire is to live under the protection of a stronger nation.

Representative WILEY. Mr. Luzuriaga, is it not a fact that with the mass of the people of these Islands independence is an iridescent dream founded upon sentimentality and visionary ideas?

Commissioner LUZURIAGA. I have said before that 90 per cent of the people of the Philippine Islands are a nonintelligent mass that move only in obedience to the will of the remaining 10 per cent.

Representative PAYNE. Another question, right there: I would like to know whether, if a man who is a cheap demagogue comes forward with a proposition for immediate independence and in connection with that proposition proposes to abolish all the present system of taxation, such talk is not calculated to hoodwink this 90 per cent of the people, or the mass of the people of the Islands?

Commissioner LUZURIAGA. Yes, sir; the majority of this mass of the people would be influenced by their leaders making such statements.

Representative WILEY. Mr. Chairman, if there are no other statements to be made, I have a motion to present. I move that the police records, or such records as are kept at Manila, of the several gentlemen who appeared yesterday and to-day, to state the hopes and aspirations of the Filipino people, be added to this record for the benefit of the people and Congress of the United States.

Representative PAYNE. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion of Mr. Wiley. If there is no objection, it will be considered as adopted and the information referred to will be attached to this record.

(The following information has been compiled from the records of the chief of police of the city of Manila, of the Bureau of Information of the Philippines Constabulary, and of the Courts of First Instance:)

JOSÉ MARIA DOMINADOR GOMEZ JESUS.

Commonly known as Dominador Gomez, ex-president of the Nationalist Party and "Union Obrera," or Philippine Labor Union, and is said to be a Chinese-Spanish-Tagalo mestizo; was educated in the Philippines and Spain and is by profession a physician. He served with the Spanish army in Cuba under the name of José Maria Gomez Jesus, as a surgeon in the medical corps. Upon the termination of the Cuban war he returned to Spain. Was dismissed from the medical corps of the Spanish army on February 18, 1902, for abandonment of post. He came to Manila late in 1902, and since arrival has been prominently identified with anti-Government movements under the guise of a labor leader. He was arrested in

1903 on various charges. The records of the Court of First Instance of the city of Manila show that José Maria Dominador Gomez Jesus was tried, convicted, and sentenced on September 29, 1903, to four years and two months' imprisonment and a fine ₱650 for having founded, directed, and presided over an illicit association. An appeal was taken by the defendant and the case is now pending in the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands. The records of said Court of First Instance further show the following criminal cases against the said José Maria Dominador Gomez Jesus, which are awaiting trial:

Docket No. 951.—The United States *vs.* Dominador Gomez. Crime: Highway robbery and brigandage.

Docket No. 952.—The United States *vs.* Dominador Gomez. Crime: Estafa (embezzlement).

Docket No. 954.—The United States *vs.* Dominador Gomez. Crime: Misappropriating and diverting the funds of a mutual benefit and relief association. (Note: In this case the court granted the prosecuting attorney leave to file an amended complaint.)

Docket No. 1053.—The United States *vs.* Dominador Gomez. Crime: Misappropriating and diverting the funds of a mutual benefit and relief association.

Gomez is generally understood to have great influence among the working classes notwithstanding the fact that he has been indicted for exploiting them for his own pecuniary benefit, and he is considered a shrewd politician. He has been the source of considerable trouble to the authorities.

VICENTE ILUSTRE.

Is a lawyer, native of Batangas Province; has been an active anti-Government man since the American occupation; has spent a considerable portion of the time since the American occupation in the city of Hongkong, where he was identified with the Filipino junta located there. Returned to Manila during the year 1904 and took the oath of allegiance, since which time he has been practicing law in Manila. Is said to be a close friend of the Lukban brothers and ex-General Malvar. Was attorney for the defense in the cases against the municipal officials of Taal, Batangas Province, when they were accused of bandolerismo or brigandage.

ALBERTO BARRETTO.

Is a lawyer practicing in Manila. Under the Spanish Government was an assistant bookkeeper under the board of port works for the city of Manila from 1895 to 1898, during which period he was also temporarily assigned at various times to different positions of a legal character. Was a member of the Malolos congress of the Aguinaldo government in 1898. In May, 1899, with others, appeared before the Schurman Commission as an emissary from General Aguinaldo. Since the establishment of peace has been practicing law in Manila. Was appointed register of deeds for the city of Manila by the American Government on April 8, 1903, but, nevertheless, it is understood that he is and always has been bitterly opposed to the American authorities. Resigned his position as register

of deeds on February 7, 1905. Is a member of the Committee on Philippine Interests. For some time past has been the host of Mr. Fiske Warren, of Boston.

JUSTO LUKBAN.

Is a physician who has been prominently identified with anti-Government movements since the American occupation. Is a brother of Cayetano Lukban and of the former insurgent general, Vicente Lukban, who commanded the insurgent troops in Samar. Was formerly a member of the Honkong Filipino junta. The records of the Court of First Instance of Manila show the filing of a complaint against the brothers, Cayetano Lukban, Vicente Lukban, and Justo Lukban, for the crime of conspiracy to raise a rebellion. Cayetano Lukban and Vicente Lukban were tried and convicted of said crime on April 20, 1904, and were each sentenced to five years' imprisonment and to pay a fine of \$1,000. An appeal was taken to the Supreme Court of the Philippine Islands, where it is now pending. Justo Lukban left Manila shortly before the arrest of his brothers and escaped arrest. He returned to Manila in August, 1905, coincident with the arrival of the Congressional party, and has since been arrested under the indictment above referred to.

ENRIQUE MENDIOLA.

A former member of Aguinaldo's Malolos congress. Was prominent during the insurrection and has been one of the leaders of the anti-Government faction since the close of the insurrection. Is president of the Committee on Philippine Interests and is a friend and associate of Dominador Gomez.

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